

LANDMARKS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY

E. H. M'DUGALL, M.A. (Oxon.)

Late Assistant in the Tewfikieh School and Training College, Cairo



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PREFACE

I owe some explanation for adding another to the already numerous school-books on European History which have been pouring from the press in recent years.

This book is somewhat different in scope from the generality of such works, and was conceived in special circumstances, and for a special purpose. Being appointed two years ago to teach history in one of the large government schools and training-colleges at Cairo, I was confronted with a syllabus of exceptional length and interest, which had to be worked through in an incredibly short time and without a text-book. No published book could be found to exactly suit the requirements of the case, none which covered the wide field prescribed, without being too crammed with facts or too difficult for Egyptian boys. The official syllabus had, I believe, been modelled on a German one, and was divided into three parts for the classes of three successive years in the secondary schools. In the *First Year* an attempt was made to sketch briefly the life-story of the thirty greatest men in political history from Themistocles to Bismarck. At the same time an elementary knowledge of chronology was to be insisted on. The *Second Year* devoted its attention to great historical movements, important periods of history—chiefly European—being studied in moderate detail, from the growth of the

Roman power up to modern times. The relation between each period and the one preceding and succeeding it was to be impressed upon the pupils, so that while able to regard each event or movement as individually interesting, they should also be taught to estimate aright the due importance of each act in the long drama. But the principle of development, in no narrow political sense, was more carefully brought out in the *Third Year's* course. It covered the same ground as that of the second year, but in a different way. From the history of Europe as previously sketched and here supplemented, an enquiry was made into the growth of nationality, of civilization, and of political liberty. The course was then concluded by some chapters on recent Egyptian history.

This programme is certainly an ambitious one, and the wisdom of its enactment has been ceaselessly traversed. Experience proves the extreme difficulty of giving Egyptian boys a grasp of the themes prescribed in the third year's course, while the expediency of entering the domains of political philosophy in a secondary school at any time or place is highly doubtful. But the feasibility of the second year's syllabus is less debatable, although its length is exceeding great. Two hours a week for hardly more than thirty weeks scarcely suffice to cover the vast extent of ground marked out. To complete the task in time, the lesson becomes a lecture, and for boys of sixteen, who are learning a fresh subject in a foreign language, a lecture is insufficient. Teaching proper is imperative, and that can only be obtained to the required extent in either of two ways: (i) by curtailing the syllabus (e.g. cut out the interesting, but to the Egyptian rather futile speculations of the third year's course, and fill out

the second year's programme sufficiently to make it of fit length for these two years combined), or (ii) by supplying a text-book. Difficulties arose to prevent the choice of the first alternative, and I therefore decided to write an outline history of the periods covered in the second year's course, whereby the facts could be mastered by the boys at home, and the teacher devote himself to reasonable instruction instead of lecturing.

This, then, is my excuse for the book; the imperfections of treatment are my own, but if the scheme be incomplete, the syllabus for which it was written must be held responsible. I have seldom heard the syllabus attacked on these grounds; it is often assailed, as over-ambitious, impracticable, and long, seldom as incomplete or ill-arranged. So striking are its merits as a workable treatment of the main lines of European development, for well-advanced pupils and with *ample time*, that the advisability of introducing such a scheme of history teaching into English schools has been more than once suggested. Hence I have been encouraged in the preparation of this work by the feeling that even should a drastic alteration of the Egyptian syllabus take place, a want which is felt at home might hereby be satisfied. The English school-boy is far too ignorant of European history, and a text-book which, without sacrificing detail, compresses into a reasonably short space some of the most interesting periods of European development, might encourage a wider history teaching in the upper forms of public schools.

The scope of the work must, of course, preclude the narrative from being either exhaustive or continuous. Those countries or periods which have contributed but a small quota to the development of modern Europe only

enter incidentally into the general plan, while even in the periods specially treated a large class of events, in themselves interesting, but immaterial to the main issues, must be ignored. Nor, again, can there be in such a work an unbroken thread of narrative from chapter to chapter. But the connection between the events of neighbouring periods should be none the less apparent, and must be insisted on by the teacher: it is only subjects such as the Growth of the Ottoman Empire (Chapter VII), the Rise of Russia (Chapter X), or the History of Colonization (Chapter XIII) which admit of instructive detached study. For instance, the rise of the states-system of Europe, especially spoken of in Chapters II, III, V, and VIII, will be readily traceable to the decay of the Roman Empire, presented in Chapter I, and the intimate connection between the period of Spanish supremacy treated in Chapter VIII and the ensuing greatness of France (Chapter IX) will be readily appreciated.

Where so much is left unsaid of the many things which might be said, there must be a marked tendency to allusiveness, but in a school-book used under the superintendence of an efficient teacher this is hardly a defect: rather it should by him be made the occasion for encouraging enquiries into events and characters, merely alluded to in the narrative. At the same time foot-notes have been supplied in considerable number to cover such cases. Considerations of cost have limited the number of maps supplied, so that it is presumed that an atlas, (such as Colbeck's School Historical Atlas) will be used throughout. Most especially is this the case, either when a general map of Europe at any period is required, or when treaties, such as those of Utrecht or Berlin, are being considered. To learn how to use an atlas properly

is of the first importance in studying history, and here again the responsibility of the teacher is very great. Another priceless aid to history teaching is the lantern lecture. The eyes of youth are more sensitive to impression than the ears, so that a well-illustrated and well-delivered lecture will impart a living interest to the dry bones of dates and facts. I have found the present course—or many parts of it—peculiarly susceptible of treatment by magic-lantern slides, but it must be clearly understood that such a method of history teaching should be only supplementary to the more ordinary methods of oral instruction founded upon book-work.

I must here register my gratitude to all who have assisted me by suggestion, correction, or in any other way; and more particularly do I thank the Rev. F. G. Paterson, M.A. (late of New College, Oxford), and Mr. R. S. Rait, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College—the former for many suggestions and emendations in phraseology, the latter for kindly reading through the whole of the proof-sheets, and for many most valuable criticisms.

E. H. M.D.

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LANDMARKS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

SKETCH OF THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In power, extent, and sheer solidity the Roman Empire was the most remarkable creation of antiquity, while it would not be too much to say that its influence on the world has exceeded that of any other empire of which history bears record. Rome developed a system of government peculiarly fitted to survive, she gave law and institutions to the world, and she had a large share in creating the states-system of modern Europe. She did more than the Greeks themselves to spread Greek civilization abroad, and the part she played in diffusing Christianity was incalculable. Thus it comes that a study of Rome and her empire is indispensable to a right understanding of modern history, and that a sketch of the growth and decline of that empire is a fit starting-point in an account such as we propose to give, of the chief movements which have contributed to create the Europe of to-day.

Importance of
Rome in the
World's History.

The origin of Rome is the subject of numerous stories and legends, most of them connected with the mythological hero Romulus, after whom the city is said to have been named.¹ Certain it is that

Origin of
Rome.

¹ The traditional date of the foundation is 753 B.C., and though we cannot accept this date as true, yet 753 may be conveniently taken as the beginning of Roman history. The Romans themselves dated everything from this year.

no definite foundation of the city took place: Rome was neither founded nor built in a day, as the legend would have us believe.

The district south of Rome was called Latium because it was peopled by Latins, an Indo-European people who had probably invaded Italy from the north in prehistoric times. They founded a number of settlements, which united in a confederation called the Latin League, and Rome was in its origin a Latin settlement. At least it seems to have resulted from a gradual amalgamation of three separate settlements of Latins which had been planted on the Tiber hills.

Though the youngest of the Latin towns, Rome soon outstripped them all by virtue of its position, doubly useful as a trade centre and a frontier fortress between Latium and the hostile Etruscans.

When first we hear of her in history, Rome was governed by a senate of nobles, with a king who acted as president, and had to rule according to the laws. But one of these kings, Tarquinius

Rome originally governed by kings.

Superbus, made himself a tyrant, and tried to put himself above the laws, governing the people according to his own will, and treating them harshly. So

Expulsion of the kings, 510 cir.

about 510 B.C. the Romans rose against him, drove him and his family away, and determined to be without kings in future. The kingdom

Beginning of the Republic.

gave place to the republic, and a new constitution gradually took shape, in which

Rome was governed by consuls (generals and chief magistrates), praetors (judges), and a host of other officials chosen in different ways and exercising different functions.¹ The more important officials, consuls, praetors,

¹ E.g. *quaestors*, the Roman paymasters; *aediles*, who superintended public works, sanitation, and police; and *censors*, who, besides superintending finance, enjoyed a vast power of moral control.

and censors, were elected by the *comitia centuriata*, a popular assembly which had also the right of inflicting capital punishment and of determining questions of war and peace. This assembly had practically superseded an older one called the *comitia curiata*, but was in its turn succeeded by the *comitia tributa*, which discharged the legislative functions of the state. This curious and irregular assembly was the sovereign power which theoretically carried out its will through the magistrates it elected annually. But in reality it was the senate which was chiefly responsible for the creation of Rome's great empire, and the magistrates generally allowed themselves to be controlled and advised by the "patres conscripti", the senators. The senate was in theory a purely consultative body, composed of ex-magistrates, and contained therefore "the accumulated wisdom and experience of the republic". It was not until about 100 B.C. that the golden age of the senate was at an end, and we shall find that its decay paved the way for that extension of popular power which meant either anarchy or Caesarism.

From the earliest times the Romans had opened their gates to foreigners, and soon the number of new-comers exceeded that of the original settlers. The original Romans called themselves "patricians" (from Latin, "patres", fathers), and looked down on the new-comers, calling them plebeians (from "plebs" = crowd), and allowing them no share in the government of the city. The plebeians had to serve in the army without pay, and were constantly running into debt with the patricians, who were allowed by the strict Roman law of debt to imprison and enslave the debtor. This was more than the plebeians could endure, and they determined to get magistrates of their own who would protect them against their task-masters.

Struggles of
Patricians and
Plebeians.

So in the year 494 they retired from Rome in a body, and informed the patricians that they would only return on condition of having officers of their own, who were to be called "tribunes". This the patricians granted, realizing that the plebeians were necessary to themselves both in peace and war. For two hundred years more the struggle continued, but it was conducted with great moderation and without civil war, and the discipline of it was of great value in the development of national character. The plebeians first succeeded in making themselves happier and more prosperous, and then gradually gained a greater share in the government,

Plebeians acquire political rights.

until, by the year 300, patricians and plebeians had equal judicial and political rights. The patricians had no longer the law-courts to themselves, and they no longer had a monopoly of the public offices. During all this time the Romans were training themselves to become a ruling race, and even before the year 300 they had conquered many neighbouring tribes, and had become greatly feared in Italy. Plebeians had fought side by side with the patricians against the common enemies, and it was largely owing to their good conduct in the wars that they had acquired their political rights.

We are now in a position to give a connected account of Rome's earlier foreign policy and conquests. Gradu-

Rome's early conquests.

ally she became head of the Latin League, and by leading frequent expeditions into Etruria she fulfilled what was the original purpose of the league,—to keep back the Etruscans north of the Tiber. During the fifth century the Etruscans were defeated by Gauls from the north and by Greeks from South Italy and Sicily, so that Rome by seizing her opportunity was able to subdue Etruria and push the Roman boundary northwards. During this century also,

there occurred some troublesome wars with the Volscians and Aequians, mountain tribes to the south and east of Rome. The Roman arms were almost uniformly victorious, and it is to this period that we owe the interesting story of Coriolanus, which Shakespeare has woven into a famous play.

At the beginning of the fourth century the Gauls from North Italy marched against the Romans, sacked Rome, and returned to their homes laden with plunder.

Gauls sack Rome, 390.

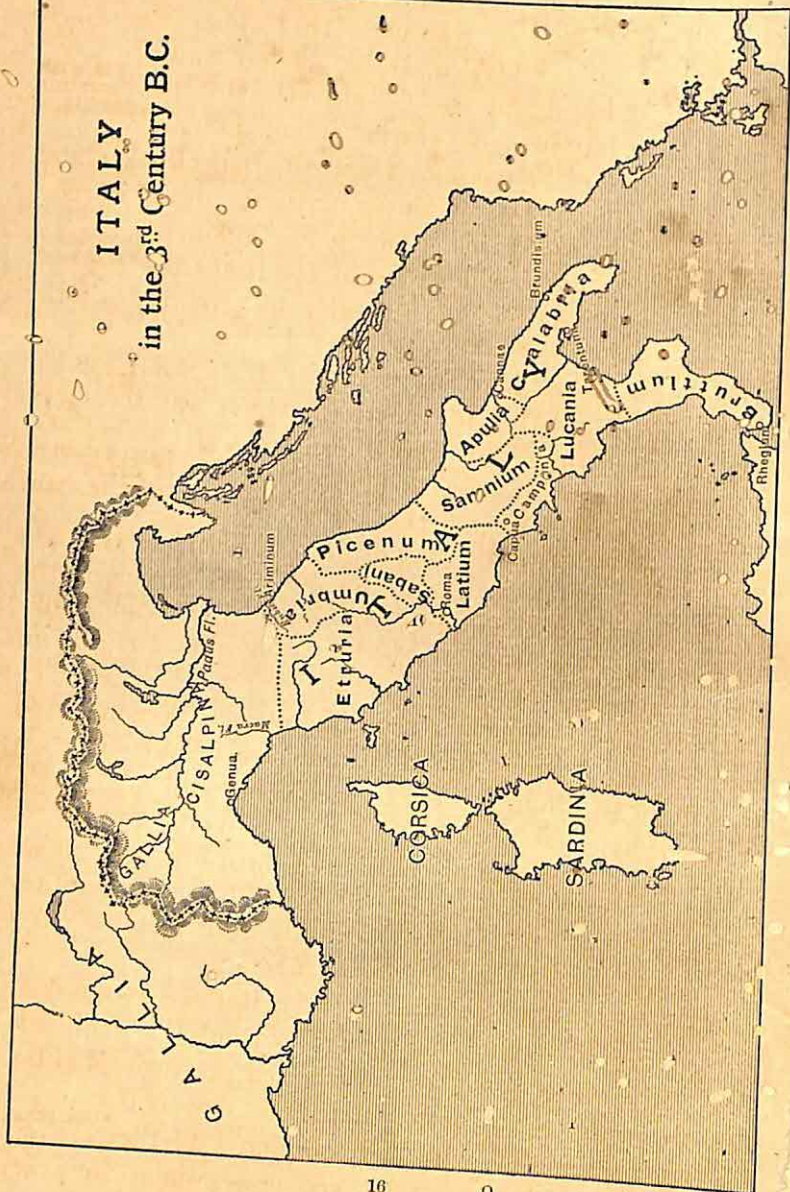
This made the Romans careful: they tried to improve their army, and at last managed to drive back the Gauls beyond the Po. English history in the ninth and tenth centuries supplies an interesting parallel to these events. It is well known how the Danes, when they invaded England, weakened or destroyed every kingdom save that of Wessex, so that when at last Alfred's successors succeeded in expelling the Danes, they obtained a greater power than the previous kings of Wessex had enjoyed. Similarly, the Gauls had greatly weakened many of the old enemies of Rome, and thus Rome, by conquering the Gauls, obtained a wider power in the Italian peninsula. The Latins, however, were discontented with the power of Rome; they wished to participate in her success, and urged that Rome should be merely the capital, and not the mistress of the League. On their objections being ignored, they made war upon the Romans, but were defeated. Their victors, however, did not treat them very harshly, but held out hopes of their one day being made citizens of Rome if they remained faithful.

Latin War, 340-338.

The next series of wars was waged against the Samnites, a hardy mountain tribe in the centre of Southern Italy. They had attacked some Greek cities on the coast, and these cities asked help of Rome. Three Samnite wars were fought: Rome was

Samnite Wars, 343-290.

ITALY in the 3rd Century B.C.



several times defeated, but at last in 290 the Samnites were subdued, and it was clear that Rome was to be mistress of all Southern Italy. There only remained independent the Greek cities in the south, a group of rich towns founded some centuries before as colonies from different Greek states. Tarentum, the largest of these, invited a great warrior, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to help her against Rome, but he too was defeated by the Romans in 275, and Rome had no difficulty in subduing all the Greek cities.

War with
Tarentum,
282-272.

Invasion of
Pyrrhus.

She now ruled over the whole of Italy south of the rivers Macra and Rubico, north of which was the territory of the Gauls. But though mistress of so much country Rome still held to her old constitution, which was that of a city or municipality. The citizens of Rome governed the rest of Italy; the Italians, therefore, and more especially the Latins, aimed at themselves becoming citizens of Rome. Meanwhile they were allowed considerable latitude in the government of their own cities.

Subjugation
of Greek
cities in Italy.

To further strengthen their hold over the conquered country the Romans founded numerous colonies in each part of Italy, binding them to each other and to Rome by a net-work of good roads, invaluable for the transport of troops and the quick conveyance of news. The colonies were first and foremost military outposts; thus they differed considerably from most of the colonies of other nations in antiquity.

Rome founds
Colonies.

Finding herself mistress of Italy, Rome was not long in seeking to extend her power beyond the peninsula. The only other great people in the western Mediterranean were the Carthaginians, a powerful trading community, who had conquered all the north-west of Africa, and were pre-eminent in every

Carthage.

kind of commercial activity.^a The Carthaginians, who had for long attempted to conquer Sicily from the Greeks, were now in possession of the larger portion of that island. About this time some Italian mercenaries forcibly seized the Greek city of Messina, and implored aid from Rome to make good their conquest against the armies of Carthage and of Syracuse. The Romans, anxious to divide among themselves the rich lands of Sicily, acquiesced, and sent an armament across the straits.

The first Punic War lasted twenty-three years, and it is important because the Romans for the first time built ships and fought at sea. Being successful, they took possession of Sicily, and thus laid the foundation of their over-sea dominions.

First Punic War, 264-241.

The island was turned into a Roman province, and governed by a Roman magistrate in a more despotic way than any part of Italy was governed. But the peace with Carthage was not intended to last long, and both sides prepared for a further struggle.

Hamilcar, the great Carthaginian general, conquered most of Spain for Carthage, and there trained a splendid army, with the object of leading it against Rome. But he died before the opportunity came, and was succeeded by his young son Hannibal.

At last, in the year 221, Hannibal found himself ready to attack Rome, and he induced the Romans to declare war by attacking their ally, the city of Saguntum, in Spain. War being declared, Hannibal marched round to Italy by land with an army

Second Punic War, 221-201.

^a Carthage was the most famous of the Phœnician colonies, and is said to have been founded in the ninth century B.C. The Phœnicians, who founded many colonies on the shores of the Mediterranean, inhabited a long and narrow strip of territory along the sea-board of Palestine. It was a country of independent, though sometimes allied, cities. Tyre was the largest and most powerful of these cities.

of about 80,000 men and a squadron of elephants. After losing half his forces in conflicts with the barbarian tribes and in the passage of the Alps, he arrived in the fertile plains of Gallia Cisalpina, the modern Lombardy. Chastising the hostile barbarians, and forcing some to join his army, he advanced south and beat the Romans at the battles of the Ticinus, the Trebia, and Trasymene. He then overran Central Italy, but did not attack Rome herself, knowing that the populace would resist him to a man. He determined to wait, hoping that in time he might persuade all the Italians to join him in a national war against the Romans.

Hannibal:
His march
into Italy and
early battles.

The Romans for some time carefully avoided battles, but at last in 216, after Hannibal had been successfully ravaging Southern Italy, two generals were sent against him with an army far superior in numbers to his own. Hannibal, however, with the help given by his splendid Numidian cavalry, completely annihilated the Roman army. But the tide of his success, hitherto unchecked, now began to turn. The Romans, taught by the bitter experience of four defeats, refrained from meeting him in the open field, and forced him to waste his energy in petty sieges. Meanwhile Roman armies were sent to quell a revolt in Sicily, and to conquer Spain from the Carthaginians. Both operations were eventually successful. On the other hand the Carthaginians did not send Hannibal sufficient reinforcements, and the population of Italy did not join him as actively as had been expected. The rich city of Capua, which had deserted from Rome, and had for years served Hannibal faithfully, was in 211 retaken by the Romans, and every vestige of its greatness swept away. Its fate was a warning to any other cities which had revolted or wished to revolt.

**Battle of
Cannae, 216.**

At last, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, arrived in Italy with reinforcements, but his army was completely defeated and he himself killed at the fateful battle of Metaurus. After this Hannibal must have realized the hopelessness of his position. He struggled on, however, for four more years in the south of Italy, losing province after province, but invincible as always in open battle, until Scipio, having conquered Spain, invaded Africa and brought about Hannibal's recall to defend his country. The conquest of Rome was abandoned, and the war became a struggle for life on the part of the original aggressor. Near Zama, the final battle of the war was fought, and there the superior numbers of the Romans and their Numidian allies prevailed over Hannibal, whose veterans of the Italian war were now sadly reduced in number. Peace was soon made. Carthage recognized the suzerainty of Rome, lost all her provinces outside Africa, and submitted to the cruel indignity of having her fleet burnt before the eyes of the citizens.

Metaurus, 207.

Zama, 202.

Terms of Peace.

Hannibal, after the war, spent some years in introducing pressing reforms at Carthage, but, pursued by the implacable hatred of Rome, he at last went into voluntary exile. Wandering about Asia Minor, and lending help to the King of Syria, he finally took poison in Bithynia rather than fall into the hands of his life-long foes.

He was without doubt the greatest general of antiquity, and there are few generals of any age, except Napoleon, who can be compared to him for sheer genius. The list of his successes is amazing if we consider the enormous difficulties he had to surmount and the greatness of his enemy. In nothing was his genius more conspicuous than in the marvellous hold he

Death of Hannibal, about 184.

had over the miscellaneous army he trained and led into Italy. It included men of different speech and various race; a large number of his African troops were of proverbial fickleness, and they were faced by trials, difficulties, and suspense sufficient to try the temper of any men. Yet we read of not a single mutiny, and we cannot find in the whole of history an instance quite so surprising of the hold it is possible for a mighty personality to gain over men's minds.

The result of the second Punic War was that Rome became the chief state in the Western Mediterranean. She had maintained her hold on Sicily, had conquered Spain, had become a great naval power, and had thoroughly defeated her only possible rival for the leadership of the ancient world.

Rome now the
chief state
in the West.

During the ensuing century Rome became also the greatest power in the East. The conquests of Alexander the Great had at his death been divided amongst his generals, and when the Romans first began to have intercourse with the East, there were three kingdoms representing Alexander's short-lived empire.¹ These were:—

Beginning of
her Eastern
conquests.

1. *Macedonia*, to which a part of Greece was subject.
2. *Syria*, which included Asia Minor, and certain islands of the Ægean.
3. *Egypt*, the great corn-growing country of the ancient world.

One by one these kingdoms were absorbed by Rome, and it was thus that the Romans came under the spell of Greek civilization, which had been carried by Alexander's conquests throughout the East.

Macedon was the first of these powers to come into

¹ Besides many places which had practically regained their independence. Such was most of Greece.

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conflict with Rome. The King of Macedon took up the cause of Hannibal during the second Punic War, but failed to give any useful help. A few years afterwards an attack made by him upon the Athenians, who were under Roman protection, brought about the second Macedonian War, the most famous of the series. Finally, after the third war Macedonia was made a Roman province about the same time that Greece was coming more directly under the power of Rome.

Roman conquest
of Macedonia,
146 B.C.

In 190 B.C. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, was defeated by Rome, and lost most of Asia Minor, which was left a while in the hands of several petty kings, and at length incorporated in the Roman dominions.¹

of Syria,
190-64 B.C.

Egypt remained independent longer than Macedonia and Syria. It was not until after the reign of Cleopatra the Great that Egypt became a Roman province, though the country had been conquered by Julius Cæsar, and its policy brought under the direction of Rome eighteen years before.

of Egypt,
48-30 B.C.

But Rome's conquests in the second century B.C. were by no means limited to the East. In 146, after the third Punic War, Carthage was finally destroyed and the dominions she had retained since 202 passed under Roman rule, and became the province of Africa. Twenty years later, after a long resistance, Spain was completely conquered, and became a Roman province in fact as well as name.

Third Punic
War, 149-146.

Thus before the end of the second century the Mediterranean had become a Roman lake, and Rome was the acknowledged head of the civilized world. Henceforth

¹This incorporation went on gradually, until several provinces had been formed. The Roman provinces in Asia were reorganized in 64 B.C., when Syria proper was made a province.

her mission, would be to a great extent a new and perhaps a more difficult one: to conquer uncivilized peoples and to carry to them the civilization of which she was the boasted head. We shall see how she succeeded in extending this civilization, but at the expense of her own existence. The barbarian nations at length adopted and assimilated the civilization of Rome, but they conquered Rome first.

Rome's conquests of civilized countries concluded.

By the year 100 B.C. Rome had not yet reached the zenith of her power, but already those weaknesses had become apparent which afterwards contributed to her fall. Her great conquests had introduced into the Roman polity certain evils which, in spite of many reforming efforts, fastened upon her more and more, and at last so nearly strangled her that she was not able to effectually resist the attacks of external foes. The conquests of the Romans had enriched them, and they no longer remained the simple people of former times. The rich nobles of Rome bought up most of the land of Italy and cultivated it by gangs of slaves taken in the numerous wars. The small farmers, who had been the backbone of the army in early republican times, thus ceased to exist. Many indeed had been killed off in the wars, and the rest, finding themselves unable to obtain work as hired labourers, flocked into the towns, and especially to Rome, where the mass of idle people grew greater and more difficult to manage every year. Without their consent little could be done, and the nobles therefore began the policy of feeding and amusing the populace, an expedient which even the early Cæsars found it wise to follow. This mass of idlers, who helped to control the destinies of Rome, were jealous of their privileges as Roman citizens, and unwilling to share them with others.

Evils resulting from the great conquests of Rome.

Consequently the Italians were disappointed in their hopes of citizenship, and even the more favoured Latins were displeased with their lot. Finally the people of the provinces outside of Italy were everywhere oppressed. Nobles were sent out to act as governors on the shortest tenure, during which they collected enough money by fair means or foul to be rich the rest of their lives, and to bribe the judges, if on returning home they were accused by the provincials of peculation and extortion.

Various efforts were made to reform the most crying of these abuses, and the first attempt was made by

**Attempt
at reform.**

Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C. He tried to pass a law for dividing the public land into small holdings for the poorer people. But owing to

Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B.C.

opposition from the nobles the law could not be passed without infringing upon the fundamental principles of the constitution. No proposal could become law if opposed by any tribune, and on this occasion a tribune having been gained over by the senate, opposed his veto to the law of Gracchus. Gracchus succeeded in passing his law only by having the tribune deposed by means of an unconstitutional popular decree, and on making further proposals equally obnoxious to the clique of ruling families he was killed in a riot and his revolutionary movement was for a while checked.

Proposals of Caius Gracchus, 123-122.

But ten years later his brother Caius tried to revolutionize the whole system of government by making the people supreme, so that they could in the popular assembly pass laws without reference to the consuls and the senate. He next proposed that the Latins should have the full rights of citizenship, and that the rights which the Latins then enjoyed should be given to all Italians. This was a much-needed and a statesmanlike

**Killed in a
riot, 121.**

reform, but so hateful to the people that all classes united against it, and Caius, failing in all his schemes, was killed in the following year.

With the Gracchi there began a period of revolution which lasted a hundred years, and which consisted of a number of civil wars and forcible attempts made by great generals to obtain supreme power and put an end to the misgovernment which was so rife.

Revolutionary period,
133-31 B.C.

The government of the senate grew increasingly corrupt, since the nobles more and more yielded to selfishness and luxury; many therefore followed the Gracchi in trying to transfer the centre of power from the senate to the popular assembly, and to use that assembly for their own aggrandizement. Nor were these efforts, however misguided, devoid of success, and many of the most important events in the last days of the republic were decided by the authority of the popular assembly controlled by the power of some great general. The growth of the military power was the other notable feature in this century of revolution. Since

Growing importance of popular assembly.

Growth of military power.

Rome had conquered so many countries the army had necessarily grown in size and changed in character. Wars were an everyday matter now; the soldiers were no longer citizens who went out occasionally to fight and then returned peaceably to their work. The army had become a standing army, the soldiers were soldiers by trade, and there was every temptation for the army and its generals to interfere in the civil government, especially as that government was bad and unpopular. The generals developed political leanings and used military force to support their politics, so that when they quarrelled with each other civil wars arose.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to trace each step in the advance of the military power during the first century B.C.; a few bare facts will suffice.

A slave war began in 104 B.C.; it was succeeded by a social war, and the social war by the gladiators' war.

Italy and Sicily were over-populated with slaves, who revolted and resisted the power of Rome for five years.

The social war was one waged by the Italians to obtain citizenship and some share of government; for they knew that Rome of her own accord would concede them nothing. After a severe struggle, which was going favourably for the Italians, Rome, in order to retain their allegiance and restore peace, acceded to their demands.

The gladiators were mostly Goths and Gauls, employed to fight in the amphitheatre for the amusement of the Roman people. It was not until they had defeated the Roman generals and threatened Rome that their army finally fell to pieces and the war died out.

During the first half of this century there were also numerous wars abroad, such as the twelve years' war against the rebel Sertorius in Spain, and the three difficult wars against Mithridates, king of Pontus, in Asia. Others there were of scarcely less importance, but those mentioned are sufficient to illustrate the troubles with which the Romans at this time had to deal, and the necessity of keeping a large force constantly under arms.

The history of this time cannot even be summarized without a mention of those great men who were shaping the revolution and paving the way for the empire.

Slave War,
104-99 B.C.
Social War,
90-82
Gladiators' War,
73-71
Revolutionary Dictatorships.

After the Gracchi, Caius Marius, a successful general of low birth, took advantage of his successes against the Teutones and Cimbri to aim at supreme power. Leading the democrats in a civil war against the nobility (optimates), he conducted a reign of terror at Rome, but in B.C. 86 he died in the midst of his triumph, having been seven times consul. His statesmanship was little calculated to regenerate Rome, and his example of lawlessness and bloodshed was only too readily followed. C. Marius, 104-98 and 87-86 B.C.

After his death, his rival Sulla, a successful general and leader of the noble party, rose to the head of affairs and assumed a dictatorship which he held for four years. Sulla's imperfect statesmanship was shown in the attempt he made to provide good government by strengthening the corrupt senate, so that what order he did restore was short-lived. L. Cornelius Sulla, 83-79.

The next great general who received dictatorial power was Pompey. His military record was a full one. He had fought side by side with Sulla in his civil war, had helped to stamp out the rebellion of Sertorius in Spain and of the gladiators in Italy, and had cleared the Mediterranean of pirates in a brilliant campaign of three months. In the year 66 he was given command in Asia with unlimited powers. Having concluded the war with Mithridates, and conquered Judæa, he extended Roman rule over the whole of Syria and most of Asia Minor.¹ When he had organized Public life of Cnaeus Pompeius, B.C. 82-48.

the Roman possessions in the East on a firm basis he returned in 61 to Rome, where the government of the senate had become weaker than ever, and the attempts at upsetting it more frequent. Cicero, a great writer His conquests in the East, 66-61.

¹ i.e. he completed that work of annexation in the East of which the Syrian War in 190 B.C. had merely marked the beginning.

and orator, had made himself the bulwark of the constitution; and it was not certain whether Pompey would tolerate Cicero, or whether he would attempt to strengthen his personal power by upsetting the constitution. As it happened, Pompey surprised his countrymen by settling down as a simple citizen, when absolute power was within his grasp. After a time, however, quarrels arose between him and the senate, and at last he attempted to make himself independent of that body by making an agreement with the two most influential of his contemporaries. These were Caius Julius Cæsar, a rising and ambitious man, who was practising the arts of a demagogue to further his ambitions, and Marcus Licinius Crassus, a general whose colossal fortune gave him unusual power. This partnership was called the First Triumvirate.

1st Triumvirate
(Cæsar, Pompey,
Crassus), 60 B.C.

The triumvirs agreed to share the public offices in succession, or to appoint men amongst their followers whom they could rely on. After Cæsar had been consul in 59, he was given the command of Gaul with a large army. He gradually reduced that country to submission, and attached the conquered barbarians devotedly to himself and Rome. Pompey and Crassus also had provinces allotted to them, but they remained most of the time at Rome manipulating the popular assembly according to their interests, and banishing such staunch republicans as Cato and Cicero.

Break-up of
the Triumvirate.

Crassus was killed during a war with the Parthians in 53, so that Cæsar and Pompey were now left face to face. It was clearly more difficult for supreme power to be divided between two great men than three; jealousies and disputes were more certain to arise, and, in fact, Pompey soon began to work against Cæsar. In 52 Pompey was appointed consul without a colleague, and

Civil War between
Pompey and
Cæsar, 49-48.

about this time he reassumed the leadership of the republican aristocracy, the party he had supported in his earlier days. By an attempt to destroy the power of Cæsar, who remained a democrat, he made civil war inevitable, and at last in 49

Battle of Pharsalia, 48 B.C.

Cæsar felt himself strong enough to move his forces into Italy. His army, by its discipline and long service in active warfare, was a far superior weapon to any that Pompey could produce. In sixty days Cæsar gained possession of Italy; he then defeated Pompey's generals in Spain, and in the next year followed his enemy to Greece, where Cæsar won the decisive battle of Pharsalia. Pompey's army was cut to pieces, and he fled to Egypt, where he was murdered at the command of the king's minister, who thought thus to gratify Cæsar.

Death of Pompey.

During the next three years Cæsar waged successful wars in three continents against the Pompeian party and their many royal allies. At last in 45 B.C. he was complete master of the Roman world, and had obtained more power than any

Cæsar master of the Roman world, 45.

single Roman before him. He became a kind of democratic monarch, a permanent dictator supported by the army and the people. He was certainly ambitious; his aim was to found a dynasty of kings and to hand on his power to his successors. But he strove to make good use of his power; he laboured earnestly to reform the government, to wipe away abuses and admit the provinces to a large share in the privileges of Roman citizenship.

His projects of reform.

The adherents of the old regime, however, failed to realize that Cæsar's government was better than any there had been for generations, and a band of republicans, led by Brutus and Cassius, formed a conspiracy against Cæsar on the ground that

His assassination, 44.

he was undermining the constitution and threatening to re-establish royalty. He was murdered in the Senate House on the Ides of March, 44, and his great schemes of reform seemed to have perished with him.

Soon the conspirators found that they had profited little. It was now too late in the day to re-establish the old re-

publican constitution in its purity, and they had only succeeded in stirring up another civil war, in which their

party was defeated at the battle of Philippi. This battle had been preceded by the formation of a new triumvirate between the three men who found themselves at the head of powerful armies, Octavius Cæsar, the nephew and heir of Julius; Antonius, the Mark Antony of Shakespeare; and Lepidus, Julius Cæsar's late master of the horse.

Here events repeated themselves. Lepidus, the least important of the three, died first; civil war then broke out between the others, and at last Cæsar, by the victory of Actium, became the sole ruler of the Roman world.

More fortunate than his illustrious uncle, he succeeded in laying deeply the foundations of his power, and he contrived to

found a dynasty of emperors, by which the power was handed on peacefully to his successors. Most of the old nobles who had upheld the power of the senate had been killed in the civil wars; Octavius was indispensable, there was no one else to take the reins of government,

and the Romans as a whole were glad to obtain peace and order even at the sacrifice

of the republic. The new "dictator" was distinguished by the simplicity of his life and the moderation of his rule. He sought to change the form of government slowly and quietly, and gradually to gather into his own hands the control of every department, without ever

43 B.C.
Formation of 2nd Triumvirate; Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus.

Cæsar's murderers defeated at Philippi, 42.

Octavius Cæsar becomes master of the Roman world, 31 B.C.

Beginning of the Empire.

assuming the name of king. He took the titles of Emperor and Augustus, the former signifying literally a general with civil power—a military magistrate, and the latter “majestic” or “sublime”.

Octavius assumes titles of Emperor and Augustus.

Under Augustus the world obtained a period of peace which was sorely needed. The greatest Roman writers flourished under him,¹ and the provinces were for the first time well and justly governed. Industries increased, trade between different parts of the empire was encouraged, and a golden age of prosperity dawned upon the world. The hundred years of revolution and civil war seemed to have led to a satisfactory settlement, for the endless strife of senate and people was concluded by their subjection to an individual who ruled them both. This was certainly a solution for present evils, but it was not a solution which promised permanent satisfaction, for in such a system of rule too much depended upon the personality of the emperor. He might be a good ruler, but he might also be a bad one, and with absolute power and vast armies at his disposal a bad emperor could do irremediable harm.

One government of Augustus.

His death, 14 A.D.

During the first century of the Christian era there were a few good and many bad emperors. Vespasian (69-79), like Augustus, was a beneficent ruler, but some terrible monsters ascended the imperial throne. Such were the fierce and capricious Caligula (37-41), Nero (54-68), poet and persecutor of the Christians, and Domitian (81-96), who began his reign as an enlightened ruler, but ended it as a blood-thirsty tyrant. Domitian was shortly followed by Trajan, the first emperor who was not an Italian (98-

First Century Emperors.

¹ Such as Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, Catullus, and Propertius. Mæcenas, the friend and counsellor of Augustus, was famous for his wise patronage of literature.

117). He conquered the Dacians, and turned their territory into a Roman province, roughly corresponding to the modern Roumania with Eastern Hungary. Augustus had conquered Pannonia, Noricum, and Moesia, had reorganized the provinces, and had finally counselled his successors not to push further the Roman boundaries. During the ensuing century, however, Britain had been added, and now

**Second Century
Emperors.**

**The empire
reaches its
greatest extent
under Trajan.**

the incorporation of North-West Africa and the conquest of Dacia by Trajan brought the Roman empire to the widest limits of its power. It extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates, three thousand miles in length, and from the wall of Antoninus¹ to the Tropic of Cancer, two thousand miles in breadth. "It was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land", and its population, including slaves, has been variously estimated at from eighty to a hundred and twenty millions.²

The second century was the period of the "good emperors", of whom Marcus Aurelius (161-180) was the most notable. He was a great administrator, an able warrior, and an eminent philosopher. With his death the best days of the empire were over. The power of Rome diminished, and the attacks of the barbarians, especially the Germans, became more frequent. Car-

**The "good emperors",
Antoninus
Pius, Marcus
Aurelius, &c.**

¹ Speaking correctly, we should say "from the place where Antoninus afterwards built his wall", since Trajan's reign was prior to that of Antoninus. The wall extended from the Clyde to the Forth.

² For a complete list of these provinces as they existed in the second century A.D., the reader must be referred to Gibbon (Bury's edition), vol. i, p. 18, and also to p. 451 in the appendix, where a list is given of the provinces as they stood in 180 A.D., after the changes of Hadrian. It was owing to the subdivision of many provinces (e.g. Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia) that the large total of forty-four was reached. Thus, though Hadrian surrendered Armenia and Mesopotamia, the number of provinces was greater than in the reign of Trajan.





calla (211-217) conferred the Roman citizenship upon all the inhabitants of the empire, but this brought them little material benefit, whilst it subjected them to a higher rate of taxation than they had been accustomed to. From the time of Augustus to Caracalla there had been fewer wars waged than in the last two centuries of the republic, but now in the third century frontier wars became chronic, and the military force, gaining strength in consequence, gradually became the master instead of the servant of the emperor: it began to elect and dethrone emperors, and different armies stationed in different portions of the empire often simultaneously invested their favourite generals with the purple.

Growing weakness of the Empire in the third century.

Thus in addition to the wars against barbarians there arose confusion and civil strife so pernicious that all the prosperity and order which the empire had brought to the civilized world waned and perished. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and the Roman Empire being divided, could not long survive.

However, the martial vigour of Aurelian (270-275) and Probus (276-282), followed by the organizing ability of Diocletian (284-305), saved Rome a while from both external foes and internal decay.

Aurelian, Probus, and Diocletian postpone the fall of the Empire.

Constantine (323-337) then reconstructed the system of government, transferred his capital to Constantinople, and by making Christianity the state religion¹ forged a fresh bond of union be-

Constantine's changes.

¹ Roman religion was now dead. It had been a polytheism, in some ways resembling that of the Greeks, but more formal in tone. Its effect on the Romans had been moral rather than spiritual. As Rome came into contact with Greece, she adopted many of the attributes of Greek gods; Egypt also and other eastern countries supplied the capital with new forms of worship. None of these had been able, even if they ever tried, to stem the tide of corruption and national decline, so that a real need existed for a more living and moving creed. But when Christianity was universally adopted, it came too late to save Rome.

tween the inhabitants of the empire. But he could not breathe new vitality into the old organism, although for a time he might postpone its dissolution. The life of Rome was dead; the sturdy old Romans who had conquered the world had long since disappeared, and the whole race was enervated by luxury and license. The place of the old Roman peasant-soldier had long since been taken by German barbarians who served for pay, and a new phase in the world's progress was at hand, viz.: the growth of a number of national kingdoms erected upon a firmer basis than a cosmopolitan empire held together by force, whose separate parts had little community of feeling or of race.

After Constantine's death the empire was divided amongst his three sons, and during the fourth century it was repeatedly reunited and redivided, until at last the vigorous invasions of the barbarians justified the final division into an eastern and western empire in 395.

Division of the Empire into two parts, 395 A.D.

The eastern part maintained its existence for a thousand years, and resisted the attacks of Slavs, Goths, Bulgarians, Persians, and Arabs, only succumbing finally to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Considerable credit is due to the eastern empire for assisting the development of modern civilization. It remained all this time a bulwark against external attack, and it gave the European nations, which arose from the body of the Roman Empire, an opportunity to take shape and grow up in comparative peace.

The western empire was but short-lived, for during the fifth century the Teutonic tribes conquered and occupied most of its provinces, and in 476 the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, a mere puppet in the hands of the invaders, was deposed.

Western Empire, 395-476.

The western empire was declared formally at an end, and Odoacer, a Goth, became ruler of Italy, though he gave a nominal allegiance to the eastern emperor. Barbarian invasions in fifth century.

It was not long before the settlements of the Teutonic invaders in Roman territory developed into regular monarchies, and the most important of these were the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, the Ostro or East Gothic kingdom in Italy, that of the Vandals in Africa, and that of the Franks in Gaul. At the same time the Anglo-Saxons were conquering England, and the Huns, under Attila, the "Scourge of God", were only defeated on the field of Châlons after they had spread havoc through the fairest provinces of the west. Foundation of Teutonic kingdoms, 415-493.
From 449-451.

But this general break-up of the old system, this effacement of old landmarks, did not mean that Rome had lived in vain. She had developed a peculiarly practical civilization, and had grafted on to it what was best in the more ideal Greek civilization. She had for ages governed the entire civilized world, and at several periods had governed it well. Now she was worn out, and yielded to more active races; but in the very act she triumphed, for the conquerors adopted from her her civilization and her religion. They were in the impressionable stage of early youth. First they accepted Christianity, and then the Christian Church became the bond between them and Roman civilization. It became the agent by which the barbarians were led to accept what was best in Roman civilization, her law and her municipal institutions. Thus there grew up on the ruins of the Roman Empire a number of races, who combined the best of the new Rome's Work in the World.
The Nations of Modern Europe her heirs.

with the best of the old, and who were determined in their turn, after a period of darkness and confusion, to carry on the great work of civilization and of progress. The growth of these nations constitutes the history of modern Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

Britain was originally inhabited by various tribes of Britons—a Celtic race—who had given their name to the whole island. But in the first century of the Christian era Southern Britain was conquered by the Romans, and it remained part of the Roman Empire until the beginning of the fifth century. The Roman garrisons were then withdrawn, as the empire was threatened at its centre by the Goths and other barbaric tribes. So the Britons were left to fend for themselves, and having ceased under Roman domination to be a warlike race, they were unable to cope with the number of their foes who attacked them on the east and north.

Though the Picts and Scots on the north did not succeed in making permanent settlements, the Angles and Saxons on the east were more fortunate. Sailing from North-west Germany and Denmark in separate bands, they arrived in ever-increasing numbers on the east coast and in the English Channel. From the year 449 they began to settle in the island, and gradually extended their conquests until the old inhabitants were either killed off

Britain a Roman
province 43-410 A.D.

Anglo-Saxon
conquest of
Britain begins,
449.

or driven backwards into the mountains of Wales and Cumberland, and South Britain took the name of Anglo-land, or England. The conquerors founded several kingdoms, which for a long time remained independent of and antagonistic to each other. The most prominent of them were Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex,¹ and they were all in time converted to Christianity. At last the kings of Wessex became the overlords of England, Egbert in the beginning of the ninth century being the first of the West Saxon kings to receive this title. The Kings of Wessex.

Alfred was the greatest of the kings of Wessex. In his time the Danes, who had recently begun to attack the countries of Western Europe, had all but conquered England; but Alfred organized an army and a navy, and so far beat the Danes that by the Treaty of Wedmore they contented themselves with the possession of the eastern and northern half of England. Alfred's successors, Edward the Elder, Athelstane, and Edmund conquered the Danelagh,² and united England under Wessex. Thus the kings of Wessex became the kings, not merely overlords, of England. Alfred, 871-901.
The Danes.
Treaty of Wedmore, 878.

Edgar was perhaps the greatest of the tenth-century kings. He and his great minister, Dunstan, made good laws, conciliated the conquered Danes, and completely unified the kingdom. The chiefs even of Wales and Scotland are said to have served him as "Lord of Britain", and the story of Edgar being rowed by six kings on the Dee at Chester is, whether Edgar, 959-975.

¹ Each of these kingdoms in turn obtained the overlordship, but it was only in the case of Wessex that circumstances favoured the conversion of this overlordship into a national kingdom. Essex and Sussex were smaller kingdoms than the five mentioned above. The period during which England was divided up into these kingdoms is called the period of the Heptarchy.

² Land under the Danish law or rule.

true or not, a testimony to the great reputation he held in the eyes of his contemporaries.

But after his death the kingdom became so weak that it succumbed to fresh attacks of the Danes in 1013; and

**Second Danish
invasion,
Swegen, 1013.**

Swegen, King of Denmark, actually became king of England in that year. For nearly

twenty years after him, Cnut, his son, reigned as king of England, which he made part of a great northern empire, including Denmark and Norway. But he became an Englishman at heart, and governed honestly in the best interests of the country. The old English line, however, eventually regained the throne, and Ed-

**Edward the
Confessor,
1042-66.**

ward the Confessor was the last of the pure English kings. He was a weak king, and

in his time large parts of the country were really independent under their governors, who were known as the great earls.

At Edward's death the English chose as their king Earl Harold, a popular Englishman; but Duke William

**The Norman
Conquest, 1066.**

of Normandy, saying that through a promise of Edward he had a better claim,

invaded England, defeated Harold at the battle of Hastings, and within four years had conquered the whole country. The Norman Conquest is naturally one of the most important events in English history, and in several ways its effect upon our land was most beneficial.

The infusion of the blood of a strong ruling fighting race like the Normans was calculated to raise the prospects and the possibilities of the English people. Then Duke William and his successors created a strong monarchy in place of the weak disunited kingdom of the Confessor; so that England was prepared to take a larger part in the politics of that outside world with which the Norman Conquest had brought her more into touch.

ENGLAND in time of Heptarchy

— Battles thus — x —



The dynasties
of English
history.

The Norman kings (1066-1154) ruled England for less than a hundred years, and they were succeeded by the Plantagenets, descended from them in the female line.

The Plantagenets, with their Lancastrian and Yorkist descendants (1154-1485), reigned for rather more than three centuries, and were succeeded by the Tudors (1485-1558) who in their turn gave place to the House of Stuart (1603-1714). The House of Hanover (1714-1901), and that of Saxe-Coburg complete the list, as the present king is a member of the latter House. All these families were intimately connected with each other and it is no exaggeration to claim for King Edward VII kinship with the old Saxon kings of Wessex.

The French pos-
sessions. Henry II.
1154-89.

and his great-grandson, Henry II, the first of the Plantagenets, added more than half of France, which had been brought to him by inheritance and marriage. But these French possessions were all lost by the middle of the sixteenth century, the majority about the middle of the fifteenth.¹ England, released from continental ties, then turned her attention to becoming an island power and the mistress of an oceanic empire.

Wales had been practically conquered by 1300. The conquest of Ireland had been begun even earlier than

¹ King John, it is true, lost most of these lands as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, but they were reconquered about a hundred and fifty years later by Edward III. The dates in the text are therefore those of the final loss of French possessions, northern and western France in the reign of Henry VI (1421-1461), and Calais in the reign of Queen Mary.

that, and Scotland's crown was united with that of England in 1603, whilst the full union took place a century later. But even before the British isles were united under one king and one government England had launched herself upon that career of maritime and colonial enterprise which has built up for her such a mighty oceanic empire.

How Great Britain and Ireland were united under one crown.

The rise of the maritime power of England will be sketched in another place; it is here intended only to treat in any detail those earlier phases of her history which are concerned with the development of her unique constitution.

To begin with, it must be noted that Roman law and institutions had not been so firmly planted in Britain as in the other parts of the Roman Empire, and, moreover, the nature of the English conquest was such that nothing beyond the

The English polity a mean between two extremes.

mere externals of Roman civilization remained.¹ Consequently Teutonic ideas and institutions struck a deeper root in British soil than in any other country conquered by German tribes, and amongst the Teuton characteristics we find a very wholesome love of personal liberty and a valuable faculty for developing decentralized government. Two opposite dangers threaten every state at some period of its growth, over-centralization and over-decentralization. The first evil has generally been associated with monarchical despotism, and the second with anarchy and misrule. In England, owing to peculiarities of history, geography, and race, the mean has been struck between these two extremes, and a system of government has been developed which, while finding a due place for

¹ Such as roads, fortresses, and bridges.

royalty, strengthens the central power by a parliament representing the opinions of the nation, without prejudice to the action of provincial bodies in purely local matters.

A certain sturdy love of independence, permeating all classes alike, has time after time induced Englishmen to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power; and, indeed, the insular position of England has so far freed her from the fear of invasion, that her kings have not had that excuse for grasping at overwhelming power which the Bourbons somewhat justly had in France. To concentrate all power in the hands of one man does certainly make for solidarity against the foe, if that man be capable, but it invariably gives an excuse to his successors, who will not all be capable, to perpetuate a system prejudicial to liberty.

On the other hand, our country has been prevented from falling into the opposite error of too marked a decentralization, partly by the natural love of law and order inherent in the race, and above all by the fact that feudalism,¹ with its dividing tendencies, was never allowed to take so deep a root in England as in most Continental countries. Feudalism in England was only encouraged as a system of land tenure, never as a system of government.

An outline of English history during the middle ages will bear out and explain these statements.

At the Norman Conquest the main factors in the situation were the king, the barons, the church, and the people. But the people were hardly as yet a factor of any real weight, and the main struggle lay between king and barons, whilst the church sometimes lent aid to one, sometimes to the other, and

**Growth of the
Constitution.**

¹ For some idea of the nature of feudalism see chapter iii, on the history of France, p. 50.

often lent itself to the furtherance of Roman and Papal rather than purely national interests.

For convenience English history from the Norman Conquest onwards may roughly be tabulated as follows:—

- I. 1066-1174. The king weakens the power of the barons.
- II. 1174-1272. The barons obtain the help of the people and the church to weaken the power of the crown.
- III. 1272-1450. The crown works loyally as a whole with the barons and people for the development of constitutional government.
- IV. 1450-1603. The wars of the Roses make a strong monarchy necessary, and under the Tudors England first becomes really powerful in Europe. During this period constitutional rights are obscured.
- V. 1603-1837. These rights are recovered in the time of the Stuarts, and during the eighteenth century, under the Hanoverian dynasty, the power of the parliament is gradually substituted for that of the king.
- VI. 1837-present time. Growth of British democracy. The king reigns, but does not govern.

The Norman barons hoped to have as much power in England as they had enjoyed in France, where feudalism was rampant. With this object they rebelled many times against their kings; but the last great rebellion was put down by Henry II. in 1174, and after this the barons were never so powerful again.

The Anarchy and license of Stephen's reign showed what were the ambitions of the barons, and warned future kings against tolerating the pretensions of an unruly caste to tyrannize over the other classes of the community.

In our second period the pretensions of the kings were in their turn so exaggerated, and their bad government so marked, that the barons got the help of the church and people to weaken the power of the kings.

King John, the worst king England ever had, ruled so tyrannically, and so frequently infringed the privileges of the church and barons, that a **King John and the Great Charter.** combination of the various forces of the nation was made against him, and in 1215 he was forced to sign the Magna Carta, which has been truly called the Englishman's Charter. It remedied the most crying abuses of every kind, and forbade the king to impose any taxes beyond the regular feudal aids without the consent of the great council.

Though the council at present only included barons and church dignitaries, yet in 1213 the representative principle was twice adopted. A council was called at St. Albans by the archbishop to concert measures of importance, and a reeve and four men from each royal borough were included in it. Also, the king issued writs for a council to be held at Oxford in November, and to this council, besides the usual assembly of magnates, four discreet men were summoned from each county, to discuss with the king on matters concerning the kingdom.

Henry III, John's son, failed to observe the clauses of the Charter, and in 1258 Earl Simon de Montfort headed a rebellion against the king, and the **De Montfort and the Barons' War.** Mad Parliament met at Oxford to provide for the better government of the country. This was followed by a civil war, and in 1265 De Montfort called an enlarged great council, including representatives from every shire and about twenty important boroughs. This was the first attempt at a complete parliament, and though De Montfort was killed at Evesham the same year, the nation was fully awake and ready to claim a share in controlling its own destinies.

Edward I had learnt the lesson taught by these

events, and in 1295 he summoned the Model Parliament, containing representatives of the shires and of over a hundred towns. It was no longer possible for the monarch to be a despot. Period III.

Edward II, who, with his favourites, pursued a bad and arbitrary course of government, was deposed and murdered, and his son, Edward III, was compelled by the exigencies of the French war¹ to trust more and more to parliaments for supplies. The three Edwards. It was at the end of his reign that the Parliament assumed its present shape, being divided into an Upper and a Lower House.

Under the Lancastrian kings Parliament grew and acquired great power. It demanded not only the control of taxation, but some share in the audit of accounts and in the appointment of ministers. Henry IV largely owed his throne to the good-will of the Parliament, and had to satisfy its demands by great concessions in order to keep his throne securely. His successors, Henry V and Henry VI, carried on the Hundred Years' War with France, begun by Edward III, and therefore could not afford to quarrel with their parliaments. Growth of parliamentary privileges under the Lancastrians.

But in 1455 a dynastic quarrel between the two main branches of the royal house became the occasion of the Wars of the Roses, which so nearly exterminated those noble families who were the natural leaders of Parliament, that the monarchy was once again able to exercise great power. Period IV. The war was ended by the victory of the Yorkists, who reigned from 1461 to 1485, when the cruelties of Richard III, the notorious murderer of the "Princes in the Tower", brought about a change of dynasty. Wars of the Roses, 1455-1471. Henry Tudor, distantly descended from the second

¹ See chapter iii, pp. 58, 59, for the origin of the war.

son¹ of Edward III, was welcomed as the deliverer of the country, and defeated Richard at **Battle of Bosworth, 1485.** worth Field. He gained the throne by the same right of conquest and popular favour that had given the crown to Henry IV nearly a hundred years before.

The Tudors reigned for more than a century, and obtained an even wider personal power than the Norman kings had held. Their popularity and their national services enabled them to dispense very largely with the assistance of Parliament, and owing to the weakness of the nobility after the Wars of the Roses, the evolution of the middle classes was required, if Parliament was again to become an efficient factor in the national government.

In Henry VII's reign the Renaissance or Revival of Learning spread to England: his son, Henry VIII, initiated the Reformation of the Church and **Renaissance and Reformation.** the separation from Rome, which Elizabeth completed;² and that great queen, having defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, started England in her career of maritime and colonial enterprise.

During this period England took a more prominent part in European politics than heretofore. She was no longer hampered by possessions across the **Strong rule of the Tudors.** Channel, and could therefore choose freely her foreign policy, with the result that her alliance was

¹ By Catherine Swinford, the second wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

Henry IV—Bolingbroke—the first of the Lancastrian kings, was Gaunt's son by his first wife.

The Yorkists were descended from Edmund, Duke of York, the fourth son of Edward III.

² The church policy of Elizabeth solved the main problem of the Reformation in England, the relation of church and state. Matters of doctrine and church government were also included in her settlement. The Church of England really assumed its present form in the reign of the Virgin Queen, and the remaining religious difficulties were more connected with the extreme Protestants outside the church than those within its pale.

constantly courted by the rivals of the Continent, the kings of France and Spain.

On the whole the rule of the Tudors, however absolute, was justified by results; they served the nation well, and were beloved by their people.

On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James VI of Scotland, being the next heir to the throne of England, united the two crowns in his person. But the Stuarts claimed an even greater power than their predecessors, with less personal ability to make it good, and in a time when a strong kingship was no longer all-important.

Period V.

The Stuart pretensions.

The dangers of a disputed succession were now few, religious questions had become less acute, and there was no longer any serious danger of foreign invasion. At the same time the gentry and the commercial classes, whom the Tudors had elevated as a counterpoise to the nobility, were beginning to be conscious of their power, and Parliament was prepared to again become the rival of the crown.

Parliament regains its lost power.

Hence the pretensions of the Stuarts to rule autocratically by divine right produced a conflict which, after the successive crises of the great rebellion and the revolution, resulted in the victory of the Parliament.

1642-1660. Great Rebellion and the Commonwealth.

It more than regained the position it had held in Lancastrian times, and became the permanent organ of government, whose power steadily increased during the eighteenth century.

The English Revolution, 1688-89.

Parliament had not only become equal to the king, a co-ordinate authority, but it had gradually gained a supremacy over the king. A regular system of parliamentary government on the party system was built up, which has become a model to the rest of the world. The most

Growth of parliamentary government and the Cabinet system.

important feature of this system is the Cabinet, a council of ministers nominally selected by the crown, really selected by the leader of the party which has at the time a majority in the House of Commons. This leader is known as the prime minister: he and not the king presides over the Cabinet, and his ministry governs in accordance with the wishes of Parliament, thus reflecting the wishes of the people.

Parliament having gained its victory over royal power at the Revolution, built up this system of government

during the reigns of the four Georges and William IV, and it remained for Queen Victoria to witness, perhaps in some measure to assist in, the widening of the base on which Parliament stands, until

Constitution
becomes more
democratic.

all classes have by the successive reform acts of the nineteenth century been admitted to a share of political power.

Our constitution was thus peacefully democratized, whilst Continental governments were only yielding to the liberal and democratic movement by the stress of revolution.

Reform acts of
1832, 1867, and
1884

The great council of the Norman kings has, then, led by gradual stages to the rise of a system of government which gives free play to all the forces of the national life—a system at once both monarchical and democratic, both conservative and liberal. At the same time an easily-working compromise between centralization and decentralization has been achieved, and the folk-moot,¹ hundred-moot, and town-moot of Anglo-Saxon times have their counterpart in the county, borough, and parish councils of to-day.

N.B.—The later stages in our constitutional develop-

¹ Moot=court or assembly. The folk-moot was the gathering of the shire, and the hundred was a subdivision of the shire found even to-day in several parts of England.

nient have been thus barely outlined, as it is intended that the growth of political liberty in England and in other countries shall be treated more particularly in another and a more advanced work. (See Preface.)

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF FRANCE

France roughly corresponds to the Roman province of Gaul,¹ conquered by Julius Cæsar in the first century B.C., and held by the Romans for nearly five hundred years. At the break-up of the Western Empire Gaul was invaded by

Gaul a province of the Roman empire.

various Teutonic tribes, and at last the Franks, triumphing over the others, established a wide dominion under the Merovingian kings. Clovis, who obtained the crown in 481 A.D., claimed, and indeed won by the sword, a supremacy over Western Germany, but in the time of his successors the kingdom was weakened and divided by internal feuds, and the Merovingian kings so declined in ability and power that the strong mayors of the palace seized the reins and eventually superseded their masters in the kingly office.

The Franks.

Merovingian kings.

Charles Martel, who defeated the Mohammedan conquerors of Spain at Tours (732), and Charles the Great, who refounded the Roman Empire (800), were the greatest members of this, the Carolingian family.

Carolingian kings.

Charles the Great, 768-814.

Under the Carolingians the Franks became the pre-

¹ Gaul, however, was slightly larger than modern France. It included Switzerland, Belgium, Alsace, and Lorraine. The Rhine was its frontier on the north-east, and the oft-repeated cry of "Natural frontiers", so conspicuous at the Revolution, is but an attempt to get back the limits of ancient Gaul.

mier race in Europe, and Charles the Great's empire extended from the Elbe to the Ebro, from Rome to the English Channel. Though he was first and foremost a German, yet France formed a considerable part of his dominions, and shortly after his death, at the division of his inheritance into three parts, a separate kingdom of the West Franks was founded, containing all that part of France which lies west of the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Rhône.

The Treaty of Verdun, which arranged this partition, is one of the most important events of the early-middle ages, for it traced those broad lines of division in Western Europe which subsequent history has only deepened.

Treaty of Verdun,
843.

From this time forward, with few interruptions, France remained a separate kingdom, though she was far from being yet a single nation. Amid the break-up of authority which characterized the weak rule of Charles' successors in the Western kingdom, feudalism, with its disintegrating tendencies, struck a deep root.

Growth of
feudalism.

The lawlessness and warlike character of the times made the feudal bond between lord and vassal a real boon to both. The poor man could best find protection from the baron in the neighbouring castle, and in return for that protection the baron required him to enter into obligations of service against all comers. Small landholders also delegated their property to a lord in return for such protection and soon the feudal tie became supreme over all other ties, allegiance to the king included. In fact the kings could only exact allegiance by emphasizing the feudal relationship between them and the barons. The country was divided up amongst a number of great feudatories, who almost regarded the king as one of themselves, *primus inter pares*. Below

these great lords there were several grades of barons and smaller land-holders, each holding a feudal relation to the one immediately superior and immediately inferior to himself. This system of feudalism, necessary as it might be for the protection of society in such evil times, must yet infinitely retard all growth of national life. The Carolingians of the Western kingdom, faced by these conditions, grew steadily weaker, Decline of the Carolingians. for their power had little or no feudal basis; the dominions they ruled over directly were too small to give them real power, and there was no national organization, financial or military, for them to lean upon.

In the ninth century the Northmen began to make their raids on Western Europe, and, before long, Danes had settled in England and Normans in Invasion of the Northmen. Northern France. The Duchy of Normandy was founded in 911 by Rollo or Rolf the Ganger, and its dominions would have been greater even than they were but for the exploits of a certain Count Odo of Paris, son of Robert the Strong, a warrior of unknown origin. Odo's strength and ability were so marked that he and his brother after him became king of The House of Capet. the West Franks. But at the death of his brother Robert in 923 the crown reverted to the Carolingian house, who held it with gradually diminishing power until it fell permanently into the family of Odo. Robert's son, Hugh the Great, Hugh the Great. had contented himself with the title Duke of the French, and with the virtual rule of France, but his grandson, Hugh Capet, was definitely crowned king after the main branch of the Carolingians had Hugh Capet, 987-996. died out, in 987. He ruled over the same kingdom as the late Carolingians, and pursued the same

¹ Louis V died in that year, and the rights of his uncle, the Duke of Lorraine, to the succession, were wisely ignored in favour of the virtual ruler of France, Hugh Capet.

principles of government, but yet it is not without reason

that his accession has been regarded as the starting-point of all later French history.

Strength and weakness of the early Capets.

He was the first of an unbroken dynasty of national kings; who, dismissing all thoughts of imperial or universal dominion, strove to build up a nation, and substituted progress for decline. But powerful though he had been as duke, in comparison with the late monarchy, he was weak as king, being surrounded by feudatories as mighty as himself.

The great barons, the lords of Normandy, Brittany, Champagne, Anjou, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Burgundy, and others, had never intended to sacrifice one tittle of their own authority, and claimed to exercise as much power in their domains as the king did in his own. But he was possessed of a limited localized power, a solid basis of feudal support which could be the nucleus of a wider power, more real and enduring than the baseless authority of the later Carolingians. For those lands which had formed the feudal domain of the dukes of the French now became the royal domain of the kings of the French.

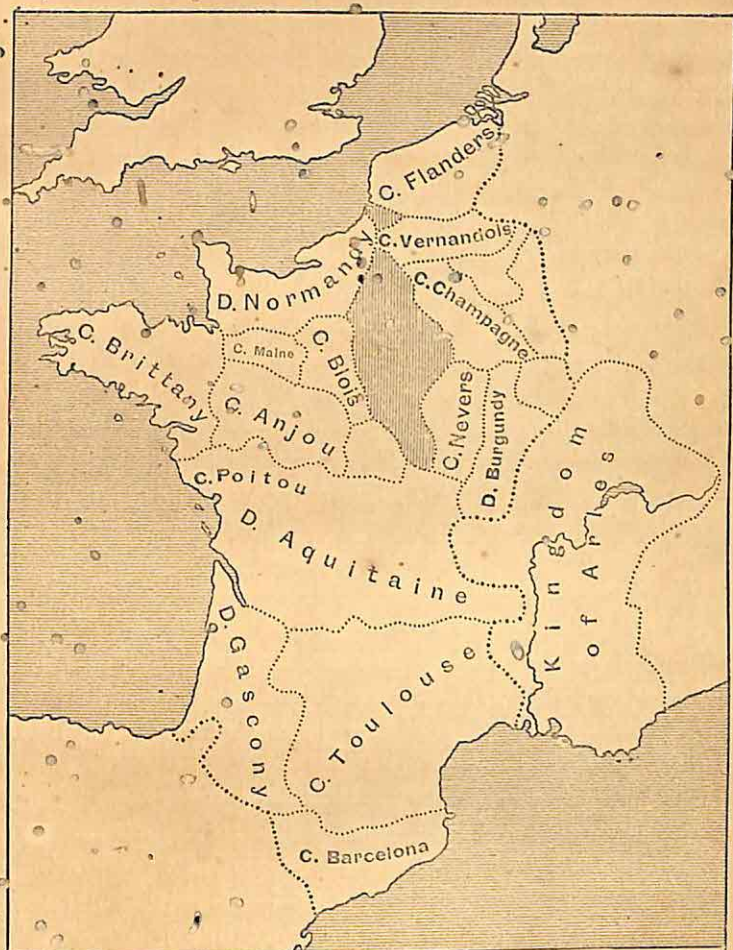
The building up of a strong national kingdom in France of course implied the overthrow of those baronial pretensions just mentioned. But this was at first impossible. The attempts of the early Capetians to humble such great lords as the Dukes of Normandy only met with failure, and they thereupon showed their wisdom by devoting all their energy to the increase of the royal domain by the various methods of war, escheat,¹ and marriage.

In the history of royal development in France the first name worthy of notice is that of Louis VI, 1108-37.

Growth of a national kingdom.
Louis VI, 1108-37.

Louis VI.

¹ By the ordinary terms of a grant, when the feudal holder of a piece of land died without legal heirs, was outlawed, or convicted of any serious crime, his land escheated, i.e. reverted to the lord.



FRANCE AND THE KINGDOM OF ARLES
IN THE 12th. CENTURY
SHOWING THE GREATER FIEFS

D.=Duchy.

C.=County.

 Royal Domain.

Aided by his great minister Suger,¹ with the support of the church, the towns, and the lesser people, he systematically carried on the conquest of the royal domain, subduing the swarm of unruly lords who practised the worst evils of feudal anarchy. He gave charters to towns, the natural enemies of the barons, and so helped forward that communal movement which made the spread of trade and industry possible.

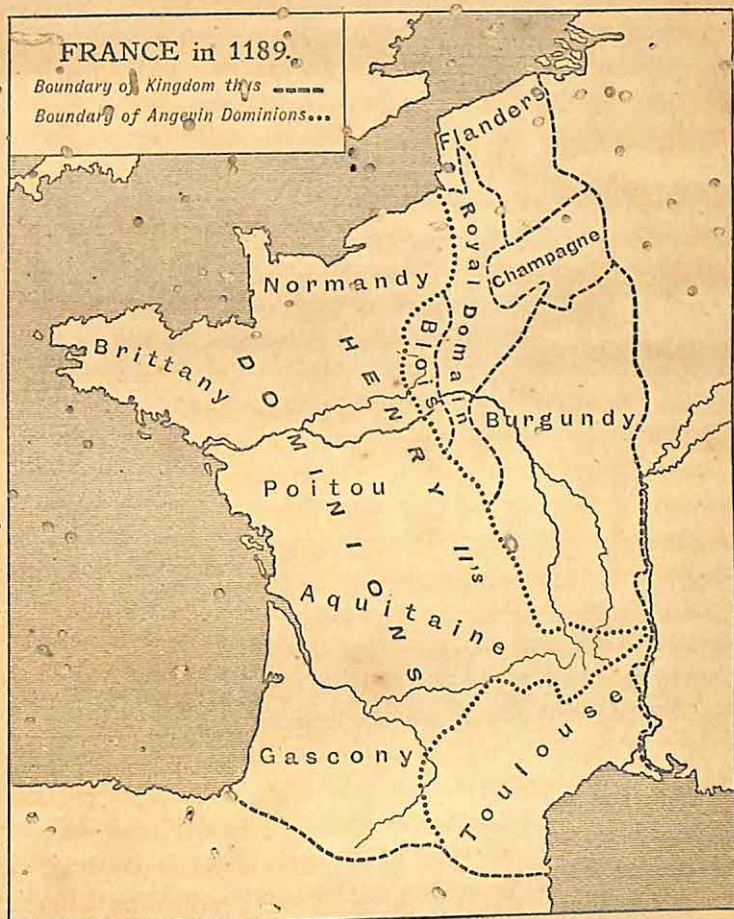
Now that the Dukes of Normandy had become kings of England, they were far stronger than the king of France himself, and were constantly heading leagues against him. Louis waged many wars with his great vassal of Normandy, Henry I of England, as also with the powerful House of Blois, but little resulted from them, and this must be regarded as the least successful part of his policy.

His son, Louis VII, married Eleanor, heiress of the vast Aquitanian duchy, but he soon showed himself to be an unworthy king. Much of the work of Louis VII, 1137-80. his father was undone, and worse than that, Louis divorced his wife, who in revenge married the young Henry of Anjou, and placed in his hands her Aquitanian dominions.

The rise of Anjou was becoming an even greater danger than the rise of Blois, and Louis had not been twenty years upon the throne when Henry of Anjou succeeded to the crown of England. Henry now ruled over two-thirds of France, either directly or indirectly. Normandy and Maine, with the vassal state of Brittany; Anjou and the duchy of Aquitaine, with its numerous dependencies, all obeyed Henry as lord or overlord. Of these three groups the

¹ Suger was abbot of St. Denis. He was a man of subtle policy and persistent will. He wrote Louis VI's life, and strove hard to uphold royal authority when Louis VII's absence on crusade gave opportunity for an outburst of feudal anarchy.

Aquitanian group was by far the largest, for it included the wide lands of Poitou and Gascony, and even the Count of Toulouse did homage to the Lord of Aquitaine.



taine for some of his dominions. As it was clearly impossible for there to be any strong national kingdom in France until the Angevin Empire was broken up, war

between Louis and his great rival became almost chronic. Louis fomented discord between Henry and his sons, and stirred up Henry's discontented vassals both in England and in France; but the genius of Henry triumphed over all combinations, and when Louis died the Angevin Empire was still intact.

But his successor, Philip Augustus, broke up its unity and made his power felt in every part of France. By the help of Henry's sons, Philip was able to defeat the great king in 1189, a defeat which was shortly followed by Henry's death. Henry's successor, Richard the Lion-Hearted, famous for his

Philip Augustus,
1180-1223.

His triumph.
Break-up of
Angevin dominions.

achievements in the Holy Land, quarrelled seriously with Philip during the third Crusade, but it was not until the

reign of Richard's brother John (1199-1216) that Philip was able to strike hard at the Angevin power. John's tyranny in France provoked as much discontent as his tyranny in England, and Philip declared John to have forfeited all his fiefs. He carried the sentence into execution by a war which added to the royal domains the territories of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine. John had little chance in the war, since his own subjects were as a whole—both barons and people—more favourably disposed to Philip, whilst Philip alike in France and England was felt to be the champion of the Church, selected by the great Pope Innocent III to humble the excommunicated John. The English kings after John's reign preserved only the southern part of Aquitaine, but the loss of the French possessions really was a blessing to England, as it freed her from the embarrassments of constant foreign war. In France the result was even more marked, for now a national kingdom of considerable strength was no very distant possibility.

Philip's next move was to support the crusade against the Albigensian heretics of Toulouse, and the success of this crusade made itself felt politically as well as religiously, since it paved the way for the incorporation of the Langue d'oc¹ in the Langue d'oïl. Philip's internal administration was as vigorous as his external policy: he created a new class of specialized administrators, took the towns under his protection, and encouraged their industries and commerce. Finally he fortified and beautified Paris, which became in every sense the capital of the kingdom, and soon gained a position of pre-eminence amongst the cities of Western Europe.

Philip was fortunate in his successors. His son Louis VIII and his grandson Louis IX continued the work of expansion and organization with zeal and ability. During his short reign of three years Louis VIII completed the conquest of Poitou, but when he died a dangerous feudal reaction took place, which showed how bitterly the barons viewed the new centralizing movement. Louis IX, however, carried the movement further. He extended the royal jurisdiction and perfected administration. Enquesteurs or itinerant justices were appointed to make progresses through the royal domains, and the growing reputation of the Parlement de Paris—the High Court of the realm—encouraged litigants to appeal to it from even the highest courts of the great feudatories. Louis appointed one brother—Charles—Duke of Anjou, another

Albigensian
Crusades.

Louis VIII,
1223-26.

Louis IX,
1226-70.

¹ The country where the Langue d'oc (oc for *yes* instead of *oil*) was spoken—Langue-doc, as it was called—was in every sense distinct from France. It had its own language, its own habits, its own government, and in the twelfth century was the most flourishing and civilized part of Western Europe. But its civilization was less virile than that of the Langue d'oïl—France proper—and geographically it was a part of Gaul. Its incorporation in the growing French kingdom was not really a calamity in the long run, and it was certainly inevitable.

—Alphonse—Count of Poitou and Auvergne, and a third —Robert—Count of Artois. The first also gained Provence by a marriage with its heiress, while the second gained Toulouse in a similar way.

Thus the south of France was prepared by Capetian rule for incorporation in the monarchy, for the creation of appanages for royal princes did not in this case act as adversely to the monarchy as might have been expected.

Gradual incorporation of the great fiefs in the Monarchy.

The new rulers of Toulouse and Provence worked loyally with their brother to introduce the laws, language, and institutions of Northern France into their new dominions, and though Provence maintained a separate existence for nearly two centuries and a half, the territories of Alphonse were added to the crown at his death in 1271. Louis' crusading zeal, his genuine piety, and his vigorous rule gained him a reputation as wide as it was unique, for during his lifetime his arbitration was frequently sought by other monarchs, and after his death he was canonized as a saint. When the Papacy triumphed over the Emperor Frederick II in 1250,¹ Louis became incontestably the first prince in Europe, as France was by far the most powerful of the modern national kingdoms.

During the reign of Philip the Bold the great fief of Champagne was incorporated in the French crown, and Philip the Fair, his successor, showed what a power the French kings had obtained by humiliating the Papacy and beginning the seventy years' captivity of the popes at Avignon.² The growing might of France received, however, a rude check from the Hundred Years' War with England, which began in 1338. Edward III, one of the great Plantagenet kings, laid

Philip the Bold,
1270-85.

Philip the Fair,
1285-1314.

Captivity of
Avignon.

¹ Cf. Chapter iv, p. 65.

² Cf. Chapter iv, p. 65.

claim¹ to the throne of France, and succeeded in regaining a large part of those continental possessions which had been lost by John. Hundred Years' War with England begins 1338.

Henry V, greatest of the Lancastrian kings, and the hero of Agincourt, carried the conquests still further, and his son Henry VI was actually crowned king of France at Paris. But the warrior-maid, Joan of Arc, healed the disunions of the French and stimulated them to a braver resistance, so that the English, confronted at last by a united nation, gradually lost not only their recent acquisitions, but the Duchy of Gascony as well, until by the year 1450 Calais alone remained of all their possessions overseas.

The war had stimulated the growth of French nationality, besides killing off a large portion of the turbulent nobility. Its conclusion found the kings far stronger than their predecessors before the war, just as the successors of Alfred the Great extended their sway after the fall of the Danish power in England. In both cases the temporary conquest of the country by an enemy had been a blessing in disguise. Effect of the Hundred Years' War on France.

Louis XI, a crafty, far-seeing king, still further centralized the power of the monarchy during the latter part of the fifteenth century. The growing power of Burgundy, whose dukes had been practically independent of the French crown, was a standing menace to France; but after the death of Charles the Bold, the greatest of these dukes, Burgundy proper² was annexed to France, and the French kingdom was thus extended to Louis XI, 1461-83.

¹ A weak claim through his mother, though by French law rights to the throne could not pass through a female. Probably Edward himself did not believe whole-heartedly in his claim.

² Correctly speaking the Duchy of Burgundy had always been within the kingdom of France, but the power of its dukes had withdrawn it from the authority of the

the Saône on the east. Provence fell into the crown in 1486, and five years later Charles VIII, by marrying the heiress of Brittany, secured that province for the crown, and made France a compact kingdom, so that they were only required a few additions in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries to bring it to its present size.

Having completed, as far as was possible at the time, the construction of a national kingdom, Charles turned his attention to foreign wars, and began that rivalry with the House of Hapsburg in Italy and elsewhere, which occupied the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which at last resulted in the supremacy of France.

Provence and Brittany added to the French crown.

Charles VIII, 1483-98.

Foreign and religious wars in sixteenth century.

The extraordinary growth of the Hapsburgs threatened not only the balance of power, but the very existence of the French monarchy, which it hemmed in on every side. Foreign wars and religious wars impeded the work of internal development in the sixteenth century; but Richelieu, before he died in 1642, completed the work begun by the first of the Capets, for he realized that not until the crown was indisputably master of France could an ambitious and successful policy be maintained. In this consummation, however, were sown the seeds of disaster, for unity had only been obtained at the expense of liberty. The States-General or French Parliament,¹ never very powerful owing to the political conditions of the country and the ever-present need of a strong monarchy, lost

Richelieu concludes the centralizing movement, 1624-42.

The States-General.

French kings. The Duchy only was made an integral part of France at this time; the free County of Burgundy, Franche Comté, passed with the Netherlands dominions of the House to Austria, on Maximilian's marriage with Mary, the heiress of Burgundy. Transferred afterwards to Spain, it was finally secured for France by Louis XIV.

¹ The States-General is supposed to have first met in the reign of Philip the Fair. It was composed of three parts or estates—clergy, nobility, and *tiers état* or commons.

in Louis XIII's day the moderate power it once had had. The crown became frankly absolute, but the establishment of absolutism led by regular steps to the revolution, and the hegemony of France gave place to that of England, whose power was founded upon the indestructible basis of political liberty.

N.B.—The struggle with the Hapsburgs, the religious wars, and the work of Richelieu will be examined in further chapters.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAPACY

"There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the supreme pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is lost in the twilight of fable." In these vivid sentences does Macaulay urge the antiquity of that throne on which some two hundred and sixty pontiffs have sat.

In the early ages of Christianity all bishops of the Church were called popes or fathers, but in time that name was arrogated to the Bishops of Rome, who as early as

How the Bishops
of Rome became
heads of the
Church

the third century claimed precedence¹ over other bishops.

It was natural that the bishop of the imperial city should elevate himself above his colleagues, and the tradition that St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome still further increased the sanctity of its bishops. But, of course, the real greatness of the Papacy did not begin until Christianity became the established religion of the empire, and, fortunately for the Papacy, that event coincided with the foundation of a new capital in the East.

The transference of the court to Constantinople left the Pontiff the most important man in Rome.

Constantine, who effected these two changes, was afterwards said to have endowed the Pope Sylvester with supremacy over all churches, and dominion over the city of Rome, and all provinces of Italy "or of the western regions". On

Constantine
and the forged
donation.

this donation the extravagant claims of the popes in later times were mostly based, but it has been ascertained beyond dispute that the document containing this donation was forged to support these claims. It first makes its appearance in the ninth century, and though there is no doubt that Constantine did considerably increase the prerogatives of the popes, yet so vast a concession is hardly credible.

During the fourth and fifth centuries the popes played a considerable part in the politics of the world, and they strove hard to mitigate the terrors of the barbaric

Leo I.,
440-461.

invasions at the break-up of the Western Empire. For instance, Leo I. was instrumental in saving Rome from being attacked by Attila. At the end of the sixth

Gregory the
Great, 590-604.

century came Gregory the Great, who, amongst other noteworthy deeds, sent missionaries to convert England to Christianity. He was

¹ Notice that a primacy led by gradual stages to a supremacy.

untiring in fulfilling all the duties of his high office, and all the West felt his energy.

It was the influence of the Church and Papacy which at this time did so much to knit together all that was ~~lost~~ in Teutonic institutions and Roman civilization. The Church moulded the wild conquerors of the empire, preparing them to become peaceful citizens of Christian commonwealths.

But meanwhile the popes were themselves hard pressed by a new set of invaders from the north. The Lombards overran Italy in the sixth century, and founded there ~~a~~ kingdom which never The Lombards. became in any sense national. They threatened Rome so continually, that at last an alliance was struck between the Papacy and the Frankish kings beyond the Alps.

In 754 the Pope appealed to Pippin (or Pepin) the Short to save him from the Lombards, and the result of a victorious campaign by the Franks was that the Pope obtained the sovereignty over what was called the Exarchate of Ravenna, a district in Italy hitherto governed, in name at least, by the viceroy of the Eastern emperor.

Alliance between
the Papacy and
the Carolingians,
754 A.D.

This was the beginning of the territorial power of the popes, the limited temporal power as opposed to the wide international temporal power which they afterwards claimed. Charles the Great continued the policy of his predecessor; he destroyed the Lombard kingdom, had himself crowned as king of the Lombards, and confirmed the grant of territory made by Pippin to the Pope, in return for which the Pope gratefully acknowledged him as emperor, and crowned him solemnly at Rome as the successor of the Cæsars.¹

Beginning of
the temporal
power.

Charles the Great
crowned emperor, 800.

¹ Cf. Chapter v, p. 68.

Thus was begun that alliance between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, which in a few centuries was changed into a bitter hostility most pernicious to the welfare of Europe. By the institution of the Holy Roman Empire the Papacy was exalted, for, according to the mediæval theory, the Pope was the "alter ego" of the Emperor, joint ruler of the world, and without him no emperor could be crowned.¹

Not content, however, with this theoretical joint rule, still less satisfied with a spiritual primacy over the souls of men, the popes soon began to claim temporal pre-eminence, and at last asserted that "the Pope is the master of Emperors". These ambitions were at the root of the long struggle between popes and emperors which filled up so much of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries.

The Pope had become undoubted head of the Catholic Church throughout the world; his decretals were accepted as canon law; his nuncios traversed every realm, collecting tenths and first-fruits; ecclesiastical cases were carried from every country to Rome, and by the crusades the Pope had obtained a pre-eminence throughout Christendom hitherto undreamt of. But by seeking a temporal primacy, by claiming to interfere with the political prerogatives of kings, the Papacy was preparing for itself a great defeat. The investiture contest begun by Hildebrand did indeed result in a compromise not unsatisfactory for the Papacy. Further, Barbarossa² was successfully opposed—his Italian subjects being torn from their allegiance—and his grandson, the

Greatness of the mediæval Papacy.

Papal ambitions.

Struggle between popes and emperors, 1073-1250.

Hildebrand, 1073-85.

¹ In practice, however, this rule was early abrogated, and there were many emperors who were neither crowned by the Pope at Rome, nor were *personae gratæ* to the popes, their contemporaries.

² Cf. Chapter v, p. 73.

second Frederick, was humbled to the dust. But the triumph was short-lived. Innocent III had reached a point of power never afterwards approached by any pope. The master and deposer of kings, the feudal superior of England and of Spain, had

Innocent III,
1198-1215.

he lived another century he would have found that the effort to make of the Papacy an inter-

national judge between kings and princes, between monarchs and their subjects, had

1250. Victory of
the Papacy over
the Empire.

aroused a deep-seated antipathy amongst the growing nations of Europe to any such superior power.

The victory gained by the Papacy over the empire was reaped by the Capetian kings of France. They were pleased at the humiliation of the empire,

Its triumph
short-lived.

but they had no intention that the Papacy should take its place. When Boniface issued the bull

Unam Sanctam, declaring his supremacy over kings, Philip the Fair burnt it and,

Boniface VIII,
1294-1303.

marching troops into the Papal States, made the aged Pope a prisoner.

A few years later, Boniface's successor was made to transfer his residence to Avignon, and what is known as the Babylonish captivity began, the popes for nearly seventy years remaining under the domination of the kings of France.

The Captivity
of Avignon,
1309-77.

From this time the Papacy steadily declined. The attempts of successive popes to become the masters of

kings had egregiously failed; the international temporal power of the Papacy

Decline of
the Papacy.
Loss of inter-
national power.

had been short-lived. There remained the spiritual primacy, the headship of the Church, and even that was somewhat weakened by her political

defeat. A period of scandal, when there were as many as three popes at once, still further

The great
Schism,
1378-1417.

degraded the Papacy in men's eyes, and at last in the

15th century the popes returned to their old policy of building up a limited territorial sovereignty in Italy.

**Growth of
Papal States
in Italy.**

The Borgias and Julius II extended and consolidated the Papal States, and for a period the popes devoted themselves to the task of acquiring lands and cities, whilst neglecting the higher functions of their office. It would have been more to their glory had they tried to reform the Church, which had become steeped in gross abuses. But the work fell to other hands, and the Reformation begun by Martin Luther ended in the severance of almost half Europe from the Roman Church. The lesson, however, stirred up the Church; popes and cardinals awoke from their long lethargy, the Church was strengthened and purified, and what is called the

**The Reformation,
begun 1517.**

Counter-Reformation was begun. This was an internal reorganization of the Church, a moral rather than a doctrinal regeneration, but the ecclesiastical organization was so much strengthened, especially by the formation of the Jesuit order, that several countries were regained from the reformed religion. Since that time the Papacy has never sunk so low again as it sank in the fifteenth century, and its many agencies have been actively engaged in proselytizing in all quarters of the globe, whilst there have been efforts, not to recast doctrine in any large degree, but to bring the Church into closer touch with the life of all classes of the people in Roman Catholic countries.

The last point to notice in connection with the history of the Papacy, is that by the formation of a national Italian kingdom in the nineteenth century the Papacy has lost its temporal sovereignty over the Papal States, and the

**Loss of the Papal
States, 1860, and
of the Roman
sovereignty,
1870.**

Pope has become the unwilling "prisoner of the Vatican". The Papacy of the twentieth century

is analogous to the Papacy of the early church before it acquired that temporal power which it was never intended to assume. The popes of the present day are merely the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, and though that church is now only one of many churches, still they hold a position second to none in its reputation and its potency for good in the world of sin and misery.

The Papacy at the present day.

CHAPTER V

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Holy Roman Empire is at once the most striking institution of mediæval history and the most difficult to understand.

The downfall of the Roman Empire of the West has been traced in a previous chapter, where it was noticed how the Eastern Empire survived the Western by a thousand years, finally succumbing to the Ottoman attack in 1453.

476-800.
Theoretical sovereignty of Eastern Empire over Western Europe.

After the downfall of the Western Empire in 476, and its division amongst the barbarian tribes, the West was held in theory to be subject to the emperor at Constantinople, who kept a governor called Exarch at Ravenna to represent his interests in Italy. But his influence was practically limited to the spell exercised by his name on the minds of the barbarian conquerors, and the Pope, from being the lord of Rome, soon became the greatest man in the West, the upholder of peace and religion against the forces of disorder, the symbol of unity and apostle of concord, because the head of a world-religion. But the idea of a world-empire was

indissolubly bound up with that of a world-religion, and the old Roman idea of universal empire exerted such a fascination both upon the old inhabitants of Rome and upon its new conquerors, that no strange thing happened when the Roman Empire of the West was revived in the person of the great Frankish king, Charles, in the year 800.

The Church as a whole, and the Pope particularly, needed a powerful protector, and protection could not come from the distant Byzantine emperor; so when the Franks had obtained the leadership among the western tribes, and when Charles had destroyed the Lombard kingdom in Italy so hostile to the Papacy, Leo III took upon himself, with the support of the Church and Romans, to crown Charles with the diadem of the Cæsars. The great extent of his conquests and dominions justified his selection if anyone had to be selected. Then the fact that a woman, the mother of an emperor, had illegally seized the Byzantine throne, gave colour to the claim that Charles executed a new transference of empire from Byzantine to Rome, and was thus the lawful successor of the Eastern Cæsars between 476 and 800, as well as of the old Western emperors before that date.

The Byzantines, indeed, did not admit the validity of this claim, and continued to elect their own emperors; none the less was Charles styled "heir of all the Cæsars", none the less did his successors regard themselves as the lawful heads of the world, endowed with a universal power, a power utterly irrespective of locality.

Quarrels amongst Charles' descendants led to the partition of the empire into three kingdoms by the Treaty of Verdun in 843. There was to be an eastern kingdom, a western

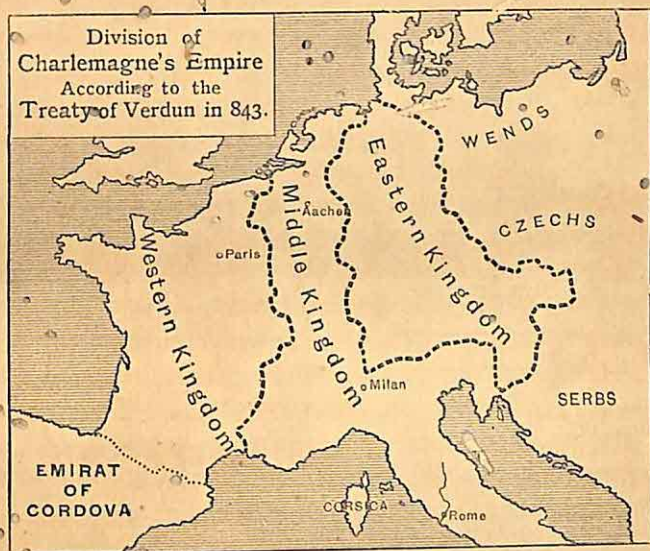
800. Revival of Roman Empire of the West.

Claims and pretensions of Charles the Great.

Treaty of Verdun, 843. The three kingdoms.

kingdom, and a middle kingdom,¹ but the most important point to notice is that Gaul was permanently separated from Germany and left to develop its own nationality.²

The office of emperor passed from one branch to another of the three ruling houses—Carolingians all—



until the death of Charles the Fat (888) ended the Carolingian Empire of the West. But the end of the dynasty did not put an end to the three kingdoms sketched out by the Treaty of Verdun. The middle kingdom had the undignified career which its artificial character marked out for it,³ the western kingdom, falling into the hands

¹ *Middle kingdom.* The middle kingdom, created in 843, soon fell to pieces, but most of it was afterwards united again under the name of the Kingdom of Arles. It fell into the empire (i.e. the eastern kingdom of the treaty) in 1032 (p. 72), but France from the thirteenth century onwards took advantage of the weakness of the empire to absorb it piece by piece, e.g. Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche Comté, &c.

² The development of French nationality is treated in Chapter iii. ³ Cf. Note 1.

of the Capets, waxed stronger and stronger until it became the modern France; whilst the eastern or German kingdom, after a century of discord, was strengthened by Henry the Fowler and Otto, kings chosen by the German chieftains on the extinction of

962. Second
foundation of the
Holy Empire.

the Carolingian line. The power of Otto was so commanding that the Pope invited him to come and put down civil strife in Italy, offering as a reward the imperial title, which was held to be merely suspended. Thus was begun that long union of the Roman Empire with the German crown, which, continuing for some eight and a half centuries, was productive of the greatest possible evil to Italy and Germany alike.

Otto the Great
adds the imperial
dignity to the
crown of the
German or east-
ern kingdom.

The Empire was more particularly from this time called the Holy Roman Empire, and "the differences in character and structure from the empire of Charles justify us in considering Otto not as a mere successor after an interregnum, but rather a second founder of the imperial throne of the West".

It is from this time rather than from that of Charles that a body of definite rights and duties began to attach to the Empire. It was held to be the universal empire, whose head was solemnly entrusted by God with the lordship of the world in co-operation with the Pope. The idea of universality, it is true, was no new one, for though the Emperor's power was above that of kings and princes, yet he was regarded as holding co-ordinate authority with the Pope. He was to be the temporal lord, and the Pope the spiritual lord of Christendom. His duties were to preserve peace, to execute the decrees of the priesthood, and to extend the bounds of Christianity, while to the Pope it fell to regulate

Theory of the
Medieval
Empire.

all things concerning religion and the Church. The one reigned over the bodies, the other over the souls of men.

The existence of this theory is based upon the irrefragable evidence of documents and paintings, but in the middle ages theory was commonly divorced from practice, and the theory of the Empire was no exception to the rule. For while,

This theory
annulled in
practice.

according to this theory, the Pope and Emperor must work together in perfect harmony, in practice accord was only very rarely attained, at least for any considerable period. Quarrels in such a dual system were inevitable, and papal ambitions made them doubly so. Popes like Innocent III and Boniface VIII claimed that, the religious life being more important than the civil, the spiritual head is, by right, superior to the temporal head of Christendom, and asserted that the Empire is really held from the Pope, Christ's Vicar on earth. This later theory was brought to the aid of papal ambition in order to upset the earlier theory of the Holy Roman Empire.

The empire of Otto and his successors was smaller in area than that of Charles the Great. Charles had ruled over France, the north-east of Spain, a large part of Germany and Italy, and those lands which are now the states of Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland. But Otto, though the kingdoms of Denmark, Bohemia, and Poland were subject to him, had no hold upon either France or Spain. Moreover, the direct power of Otto and subsequent emperors in their own dominions was far less than that of Charles, owing to the now greater strength of the feudal lords in Germany, the increase of papal power in Italy, and the growth of the towns in both countries.

Size of the
Empire.

The chieftains of Germany, dukes and palatine princes, continued to choose an emperor from the family of Otto

until the male line became extinct, and then the House of Franconia supplied a succession of able emperors. In 1032 the kingdom of Arles¹ was added to the Empire, and under Henry III the Empire

reached the zenith of its power. He made

Hungary a tributary state; he reformed the Papacy, and himself appointed a new pope, but such power was not allowed to remain long undisputed. In

the time of Hildebrand—Gregory VII—papal

assumptions were exalted beyond all previous practice, and the first great contest between the Empire and the Papacy took place.² Hildebrand denied the

right of laymen to confer benefices on

ecclesiastics, and the whole system of feudal investitures was condemned. The Emperor

Henry IV clearly saw that such a claim, if made good, would put under the hands of the Pope the vast territories of the Church, which in Germany amounted to half the land of the state. In the event of this revolution being brought about, no king would be really king in his own dominions, a far too powerful *imperium in imperio* would be created. But the princes of Germany,

rejoicing at an opportunity of weakening the power of the Emperor, mostly sided with the Pope, until Henry, being

humbled and isolated, begged pardon of Gregory at Canossa, promising full obedience in all that pertained to the Church. The struggle, however, continued after the death of its originators, until a compromise was

made, which virtually deprived the Emperor of half his rights of investiture. In addition, the struggle had much weakened the position of the

Outline of
its history.

Henry III,
1039-56.

Hildebrand,
1073-85.

The Investiture
Contest.

Henry IV humbles
himself at
Canossa, 1077.

Concordat of
Worms, 1122.

¹ Cf. p. 69, foot-note.

² Cf. Chapter iv.

Emperor as German king, and the princes had gained in proportion as the Empire had lost. They had successfully asserted the hereditary nature of their fiefs, and the elective character of the Empire had been several times vindicated.

With the accession of Frederick Barbarossa, greatest of the Hohenstaufens, the Empire might have regained some of its lost power but for a renewed contest with the Papacy. Barbarossa, whose

Frederick
Barbarossa,
1152-90.

good rule in Germany entitled him to the reputation of a national hero, was most unfortunate in Italy. The Pope, ever anxious to limit the Emperor's power south of the Alps, aided a league of Lombard cities in a quasi-national war against the Emperor, who was defeated at the battle of Legnano in 1176, but was not entirely unsuccessful in the final result of the contest.

Continued
struggle with
the Papacy.

Barbarossa's grandson, Frederick II, continued the struggle with most unfortunate results. A man of undoubted genius and amazing versatility, he had the misfortune to inherit the kingdom of Sicily, which provoked the fear and enmity of the popes, threatened as they now were on the south and north at once. Once again the Pope found allies in the ambitious German princes, and Frederick succumbed before a too formidable array of enemies.

Frederick II,
1212-50.
Conclusion of
the struggle.
The Empire
humbled.

The Papacy had triumphed, and the Empire was permanently weakened. It became a rare thing for ensuing emperors to obtain any real hold upon Italy, whilst in Germany the great feudatories had effectually transformed themselves into princes with territorial independence, owing but a nominal vassalage to the Emperor. The necessity of buying them off by vast concessions,

Decline of Empe-
ror's power (1) in
Italy, (2) in Ger-
many, (3) outside
the Empire.

added to the frequent absence of the emperors during the long contest with the Papacy, fully accounted for this transformation. It was a most disastrous thing for Germany that a strong crown was henceforth impossible, and that it was impossible was the result of the union of the German and imperial crowns on one head. Had the German king not been burdened with the responsibilities of universal empire, it is possible that a strong local centralized kingdom might have been built up in Germany by processes similar to those going on in France and England. But the opportunity for such an evolution had long since passed, and from having tried to do too much the Empire had effected almost nothing in the work of state-development. The Empire had even been a hindrance to the erection of national states in Germany and Italy. Further than this, the fascinating theory of universal lordship had been negatived in practice. The growth of the Papacy and of strong national kingdoms outside Germany had brought upon the Empire the loss of that vast prerogative of international power which was the primary excuse for its existence. The Emperor was no longer the arbiter of Christendom; he retained but a shadowy precedence amongst crowned heads, and the Holy Roman Empire might have fittingly come to an end at this time but for its connection, now indissoluble, with the German crown. Despite the growing weakness of the German monarch, some kingship was better than none, for the license and anarchy of the petty princes north of the Alps was fearful. Therefore a king there must be, and so stereotyped by usage were mediæval minds that no one contemplated as possible the existence of a German king who was not emperor as well. Hence it is that the Empire outlived its day, and that long before its abolition in the time of Napoleon it had become a solemn farce.

In 1273 Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, was elected emperor, and after being held by various princes in the fourteenth century, the Empire reverted to the Hapsburgs in 1437, and became practically hereditary in that family. Devoting themselves to the selfish policy of building up a strong territorial power in Austria-Hungary, their German responsibilities sat lightly upon them, and German interests were sacrificed to Austrian interests. But there were exceptions, for several of them tried to revive the lost glories of the Empire. Maximilian attempted to make the Empire a reality in Germany, and his grandson Charles V¹ not only strove to bring Germany under his absolute power, but, more than any of his predecessors since Charles the Great, he recalled, by the vast extent of his dominions, the emperors of ancient Rome. But strive as he might, he could not make the Empire strong; there were too many elements warring against him. The Renaissance had given birth to doctrines which altogether clashed with those theories from which the Holy Roman Empire derived half its strength, and the Reformation divided Germany more hopelessly than before. Religious divisions were now added to political divisions, and the Emperor, being a Roman Catholic and a partisan, could no longer expect to retain an effective moderating influence. The concessions made to the Protestant party were not sufficient to avert a war, and the Thirty Years' War, when it came, brought the Empire lower than it had ever been before. Not only had the Protestant princes in Germany resisted their Emperor by force of arms, but they had called in foreign states to help them.

1437. Empire becomes hereditary in the Hapsburg family.

Charles V.
1519-56. Tries to make the Empire a reality in Germany.

But authority of Emperor further weakened by Renaissance and Reformation.

Thirty Years' War. 1618-48.

¹ Cf. Chapter viii, i.

The aid given by France and Sweden compelled the Emperor to yield, and by the peace of Westphalia religious toleration was extended to all Protestants, each prince being empowered to choose for himself and people the religion of his state.

1648. Peace of Westphalia.

At the same time the political independence of the princes was virtually acknowledged, and as far as Germany was concerned the Emperor was no longer more than a figure-head, and the Empire but an empty name.¹

German princes now practically independent.

The Hapsburgs pursued more and more their Austrian interests, whilst the Hohenzollerns of Prussia gradually became the greatest princes in Germany, and were able in the eighteenth century to wage war successfully against the Emperor. Things continued thus until Napoleon at last brought about the abdication of Francis II, who dissolved the Holy Roman Empire, and became the first Austrian emperor.

Abolition of the Empire. 1806.

For a time Germany remained without an emperor. But at last, in 1870, the Prussian kingdom, now grown to Prussia's estate, was found fit to lead Germany in a national war against France, upon the conclusion of which the Prussian king² was chosen by the German princes to be the first emperor of a remodelled German empire.

1871. A new German empire formed under the leadership of Prussia.

The present Empire is German both in name and in fact. The power and prerogatives of its head are based upon practical provisions, and not on theories impossible of fulfilment. Germany has for the first time in its long and chequered history become a solid and compact

¹ The loosest of federations, in fact, and by no means a federation of equals. "There were three hundred and sixty states in the Empire, representing every grade in the feudal hierarchy, from the knight to the emperor, and a day's journey might take a traveller through a free city, through the territory of a sovereign abbot, through a village owned by an imperial knight, through the possessions of a landgrave, a duke, a prince, and a king."

² William I.

power, capable of taking that great place in the world to which its size and the virility of its people alike entitle it.

CHAPTER VI.

OUTLINE OF THE CRUSADES, THEIR CAUSES AND RESULTS

The Crusades occupy such an important place in mediæval history that no student can neglect them, and it is here intended to give not only some notice of the broad results of the crusading movement, but also to make some brief remarks on each of the nine crusades individually.

The movement arose from a desire to protect Christian pilgrims in their journeys to the Holy places of Palestine.¹ Jerusalem had been in the hands of the Moham-médans since the year 637, but until the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century Christians who lived at or visited Jerusalem had but little to complain of.

Capture of
Jerusalem by the
Arabs under
Caliph Omar,
637 A.D.

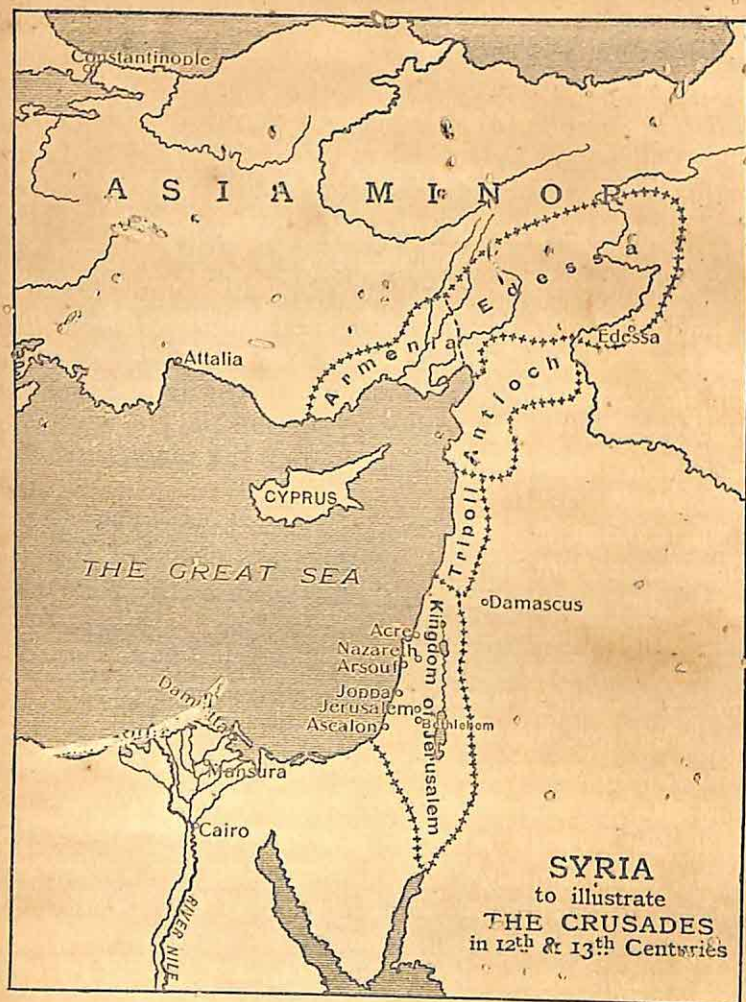
The cruelties and insults of the Seljuk conquerors, however, aroused the attention of Europe, and Peter the Hermit, a great preacher, together with the Pope Urban, stirred up the Christian nations to go and save Jerusalem from the Turks.

Seljuks take
Jerusalem, 1076.

In 1096 a vast army, estimated by some at 600,000 men, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, started to march across Europe towards the East. Of these some were actuated by a sense of duty, others by love of war; some thought to win for themselves a

First Crusade,
1096-99.

¹ The terms Palestine, Holy Land, and Syria are used to denote the southern portion of Asia, Syria proper being the whole of which they are the part. But by a pardonable laxity the three terms are frequently regarded by historians of the crusades as interchangeable.



sure salvation, others to gratify ambition and lust of gain. Fighting, desertion, fatigue, disease, reduced their numbers by one-half, and the remnant only reached Syria after undergoing many adventures and considerable delay. They captured Antioch after a nine months'

siege, and arriving at last in the Holy Land, they took Jerusalem by storm amidst scenes of the greatest barbarity and cruelty.

A Christian feudal kingdom of Jerusalem was founded, and Godfrey elected king. This kingdom lasted for eighty-eight years, until it was overthrown by Saladin on the eve of the third crusade. 1099. Creation of kingdom of Jerusalem.

Its boundaries were rapidly enlarged, and for many years there existed a number of subordinate principalities extending north to Asia Minor, and ruled by Latin¹ chieftains, who paid a nominal homage to the king of Jerusalem. Such were the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, and the principality of Antioch. Subordinate states.

The history of these states is but a sorry one: their quarrels one with another exposed their weakness to the surrounding Mohammedan emirs (princes), and it was only by continual fighting, and by means of the constant stream of fresh Crusaders from Europe, that they maintained themselves at all.

The knightly orders of the Temple and of St. John,² founded at the beginning of the Latin domination in Palestine, formed the nucleus of an efficient military force, but their numbers were limited and their attentions confined chiefly to Jerusalem itself. The outlying principalities were therefore the weakest, and Edessa was the first to fall. The military orders.

In 1145 Zenghi, the Mohammedan sultan of Aleppo, having ravaged the Christian territories, stormed Edessa, which was henceforth lost to the Crusaders. This was the signal for the second crusade. 1145. Fall of Edessa.

¹ The word Latin is used because the Crusaders were the champions of the Latin or Roman Church. The Mohammedans grouped together all Europeans under the head of "Franks", and it will be sometimes found convenient to use this term also.

² The knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, were in after-ages closely associated with Rhodes and Malta. They defended Malta successfully against the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth century.

The Pope summoned all Europe to fight for the holy cause, and St. Bernard,¹ like Peter the Hermit before him, aroused the enthusiasm of Christendom. Vast multitudes marched eastwards with the greatest pomp and ceremony, a troop of women with sword and shield sharing all the hardships of the march. Only one-tenth reached their goal, and then they accomplished nothing. Edessa was not recaptured, but Damascus was besieged, and with the aid of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers had been nearly taken, when the folly of the French king and German emperor, added to the treachery of the barons of Palestine, rendered the enterprise abortive. That the whole crusade should have been a disastrous failure is hardly surprising when we learn of what materials the crusading army was composed. It included the thieves and murderers of Europe; it was an undisciplined horde which had given way to the worst of passions, and which spent its time and strength in plunder, quarrels, and debauchery rather than in making head against the foe. St. Bernard is related to have bitterly repented that criminals had been thought good enough to take part in so sacred an enterprise.

Shortly after this a certain Nourredin, the sultan of Aleppo, becomes the centre of interest in the East. He was one of the many independent princes who rose upon the ruins of the Abbaside Caliphate of Bagdad, and he remained until his death in 1174 a constant danger to the Franks. He set his heart upon Egypt, and sent his general, Shirkoh, to further his interests in that country. The Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt was then in its old age, and the weak caliph had to choose Shirkoh as his vizier.

¹ St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, often called "the Last of the Fathers". He founded a great number of monasteries, and took a very prominent part in contemporary events. He was also a great controversialist, and the persistent opponent of heretics and so-called heretics.

In 1169 Saladin succeeded his uncle Shirkoh as vizier, and he successfully resisted an attack which the King of Jerusalem planned against Egypt. In 1171 he suppressed the Fatimid Caliphate, and became Lord of Egypt as viceroy for Nourredin. He, however, determined to become independent of his master, and it was only the timely death of Nourredin which prevented a conflict.

1171-83. Saladin founds a great empire.

Saladin not only founded the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt, but extended his rule over Syria, Mesopotamia, and a part of Arabia. In Palestine the weakness of the Franks had been increasing yearly, and it was only through the constant supply of knights from Europe that the kingdom of Jerusalem, "ruled in turn by cowards and by traitors", stood at all. At last Saladin felt himself strong enough to attack the

Franks. Proclaiming a Jihad, or Holy War, he summoned his vassals from every

1187. He begins a Holy War against the Franks.

part of his dominions, and invaded Palestine. Out-numbering and outgeneralling the Franks he beat them at Hittin, between Acre and Tiberias, took most of their strongholds, and captured Jerusalem. The inhabitants were allowed to depart unhurt on payment of a small ransom, but Saladin in his generosity eventually excused the poorest from this payment. The fall of Jerusalem was followed by a long series of triumphs gained by Saladin, which ended with his entry into Antioch the following year.

But Europe awoke once more at the news of these disasters. The Pope promised victory and Divine help to those who should take the Cross and regain the Holy City. The princes and kings

The Third Crusade, 1189-92.

of Christendom, headed by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, started with their armies for the East, some by land and some by sea. But a series of misfortunes

took place. Barbarossa was drowned on the way, whilst Richard of England and Philip Augustus of France quarrelled in Sicily, and converted their great friendship into bitter enmity. Richard then spent several precious months in attacking Cyprus and its emperor.

Meanwhile the main body of the crusading host had entered Syria and laid siege to Acre, which was held by

Siege and fall of Acre, 1189-91. a strong and determined Moslem garrison, Saladin remaining upon the heights out-

side with an army too small to risk a battle. Acre is the key of Western Palestine; it commands the great road that runs north and south, and its importance in a campaign has been shown many times in history, as in the crusades, so in Napoleon's Syrian Expedition and in the time of Mohammed Ali. At last Philip and Richard arrived before Acre, and sufficiently forgot their quarrel to hurry on the siege. No help arriving from Egypt the town surrendered, and the usual butcheries and dis-

Battle of Arsouf, 1191. solution of all order followed. The Crusaders then marched south, and Richard beat Saladin at Arsouf, where the charge of his mailed horsemen utterly broke the Turkish¹ ranks.

Had Richard advanced immediately on Jerusalem he would probably have taken it, though it is doubtful whether he could have held it long.

Unsuccessful efforts of Crusaders to reach Jerusalem. But no immediate advance was made;

time was spent in fruitless negotiations, and when Richard urged action, the military orders refused to move, pleading that the army could not be held together in the event of success. The winter was spent at Ascalon, where the walls were rebuilt by the

¹ The best soldiers of Saladin were Turks, for he had really inherited the position of the Seljuk emperors, and could collect Turks for war and peace, more especially war, from all Western Asia. These soldiers were the nucleus from which the class of Mamelukes, so famous in ensuing centuries, sprang. Mameluke, or Mamluk, is the Arabic for "slave". Cf. p. 90, note.

Crusaders and the celebrated quarrel between Richard and Leopold of Austria took place. Another attempt to reach the Holy City was made the following spring, but the same fate met this plan as befell the last, and Richard in his humiliation refused even to gladden his eyes with a distant vision of Jerusalem. He urged as an alternative the invasion of Egypt, to strike at the heart of Saladin's power; but his proposals were made in vain, and the army was broken up. Part returned to Acre, the rest accompanied Richard to Jaffa, just in time to save the town from falling into the hands of Saladin. A short, sharp fight took place outside the walls, where Richard, distinguishing himself **Battle of Jaffa, 1192.** for his fiery valour, made good the title he had earned in Palestine—"Terror of the Saracens".¹ But there was no disguising the failure of the Crusade; the recapture of Jerusalem had to be abandoned, and a truce was made by which all pilgrims were to have the right of entering Jerusalem untaxed. This, in addition to a clause leaving a portion of the coast-line in the hands of the Christians, was all that had been gained by the crusading host.

Peace proposals. End of the Crusade.

After this failure, to have abstained from further efforts might have seemed quite justifiable, but within four years the political condition of Europe gave birth to another crusade. The Pope **The Fourth Crusade, 1196-97.** Celestine, fearing the designs of the Emperor Henry VI, planned a crusade which would occupy the attention of the emperor, or at least of his formidable army. The expedition failed disastrously, as any holy war waged with such a motive deserved to fail, and it was marked

¹ Many stories are told—some of them well authenticated—of the chivalrous conduct to each other of Richard and Saladin. Though they never actually met, there was on both sides a profound respect towards the other. The frankness and fiery valour of Richard appealed to Saladin as much as Saladin's generous chivalry appealed to Richard.

by an even greater confusion and want of organization than the previous ones.

The fifth crusade succeeded the fourth after a three years' interval, and, though as a crusade it failed hope-

The Fifth Crusade, 1201 - 04.

lessly, yet its nature was so extraordinary that it calls for individual notice. It was

organized at the instance of Innocent III, one of the greatest of the mediæval popes. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and many famous princes and barons, set out on this expedition. But the fate of previous crusades had shown the folly of marching by land across Europe and Asia Minor, and envoys were despatched to Venice asking for

Compact with Venice.

a loan of ships. The doge agreed for 85,000 marks of silver to provide ships sufficient for an army of 4500 knights and horses, 9000 squires, and 20,000 infantry. But when the Crusaders were assembled they failed to provide the requisite sum, and

Capture of Zara, 1202.

the Venetians as an alternative to pecuniary payment suggested that the crusading army should be employed in conquering for Venice the town of Zara,¹ in Dalmatia.

This was accordingly done, and the year being far advanced, the Crusaders found it necessary to take up winter quarters, and spent their time in leisurely discussing what they should do next. It seemed natural that they should sail straight to Palestine with the advent of spring: the main object of the crusade had been too long delayed. But it was not to be; already other plans were being framed. The Eastern or Byzantine Empire was at this time the scene of constant revolutions and many a murder in the royal house. A certain Emperor Isaac Angelus had been deposed by his brother Alexius, a

¹Zara was said to have been unjustly seized by the King of Hungary; but the Crusaders greatly objected to take arms against it, as the King of Hungary had himself assumed the Cross.

bloody tyrant, whereupon the son of Isaac, another Alexis, begged the help of Christendom to recover the throne for his father and himself. Pope Innocent declined to inter-

1203. Crusaders interfere in dynastic quarrels at Constantinople.

fere, but the Crusaders, covetous of expected rewards, decided to give help. In the spring of 1203 they sailed to Constantinople, and having taken the town and put the usurper to flight, they established Isaac on the throne in joint sovereignty with his son. Alexis was the real ruler, and he soon quarrelled with his new allies, even daring to send fire-ships against the Venetian fleet. So he was in his turn deposed. Several emperors followed one another in quick succession, and at last the Crusaders determined to place a Latin emperor on the Eastern throne. This the Greeks vehemently opposed, and a second siege of Constantinople was begun. On the fourth day the crusad-

1204. Siege and conquest of Constantinople.

ing army forced its way in, and there began a series of excesses similar to those which had so often polluted the soil of Palestine. The churches were entered and defiled, all the sacred treasures were carried off and the Pope might well ask how "the Greeks would ever return to unity with the apostolic See of Rome, when they saw in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness for which they might justly loathe them worse than dogs."¹

A committee of twelve, half French, half Venetian, met to elect a Latin emperor, and they chose Baldwin of Flanders, a cousin of the French king and a descendant of

1204-61. The Latin Empire of the East.

¹ The political separation of East and West had made spiritual unity difficult and rare from the fourth century onwards. The rival pretensions of the Roman pontiffs and the patriarchs of Constantinople had at length become so irreconcilable that a small doctrinal dispute in the twelfth century became the occasion for complete schism. Since that time the Greek or "orthodox" church has remained separate from the Latin communion.

Charles the Great. A great warrior, he boldly resisted the attacks of surrounding enemies and after a reign of two years he suffered capture at the hands of the Bulgarians, and died in prison. The Latin Empire lasted until 1261, when the Greeks, exasperated by the course of intolerance and cruel injustice pursued by their Latin conquerors, succeeded in reconquering Constantinople. So the fifth crusade had limited its activities to Europe. The erection of a short-lived empire, and the permanent alienation of eastern and western Christianity was the whole extent of its achievement.

In the Holy Land the terms made between Richard Cœur de Lion and Saladin held good after both were dead, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem remained but a shadow of its former self. Five more crusades were undertaken before the end of the thirteenth century, but whatever success they achieved was only momentary.

The next or sixth crusade consisted of a number of different expeditions covering the space of four years.

Sixth Crusade,
1216-20.

In 1216 Andrew, king of Hungary, set sail to Palestine, but in a few months returned home disgusted with the undertaking. This is a good example of the lack of perseverance shown by the Crusaders throughout. In the following year (this is always considered part of the same crusade) a fresh body of troops arrived, Germans, French, English, and Italians. They endeavoured to recover Palestine by an attack upon Egypt, for if they could beat the Mohammedan sultan at his base, Palestine, they argued, would be delivered into their hands. Damietta was besieged, the fair offers of peace made by the Sultan Kamel were madly rejected, and the victorious Crusaders marched on

Attack on
Egypt.

Cairo. But the Egyptians made use of the rising Nile to inundate the Crusaders' camp, and then was seen the folly of not accepting Kamel's offer, viz.: the handing over of Jerusalem and most of Palestine to the Christians. The crusading army was ruined, and the remnant of it retired to the ships, abandoning all schemes for conquering either Egypt or Palestine.

Eight years passed, and Frederick II, an emperor as noteworthy as his grandfather Barbarossa, landed a crusading force at Ptolemais, and prepared to win back Jerusalem by the sword.¹

Seventh Crusade,
1228-29.

The Sultan Kamel, however, surrounded by other enemies in the East, and greatly fearing Frederick's might, thought to buy him off by treaty, and in 1229

a ten years' peace was made. Kamel

1229. Peace between
Frederick II and
Sultan Kamel.

surrendered to the Christians Jaffa, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the whole of Jerusalem, with the exception of the mosque of Omar.

These satisfactory terms had been gained without an ounce of bloodshed, and yet the Pope and clergy showered reproaches and indignities on Frederick for "trafficking with Belial". It seemed that in the eyes of Christian priests nothing which had not been gained by the slaughter of Mohammedans could be of any value. But certainly the treaty had its weak side; it was to last only a decade, and after the ten years had passed Kamel seized Jerusalem.

What is known as the English crusade, led by Richard of Cornwall,² came to the rescue of the Holy City, and without much fighting arranged another treaty with the sultan, who was at this time

Eighth Crusade,
1240.

¹ This crusade is sometimes included in the sixth, but eight years having elapsed since the Egyptian expedition, it is advisable to treat it as a separate effort. Ptolemais is another name for Acre.

² Richard of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III of England. He became king of the Romans, but was never crowned emperor, and was a most unsatisfactory ruler of Germany.

embarrassed by a quarrel with the Sultan of Damascus.¹

Palestine was once more to be held by the Christians, but whatever reality there was in this renewed tenure was wiped away by the invasion of those brutal Chorasmian hordes who had been pushed out from Central Asia by the great conqueror Jenghiz Khan. They filled Jerusalem with blood, and almost exterminated the Christians in Palestine. This invasion worked eventually to the advantage of the Saracens, who beat the Chorasmians and recovered Palestine.

The holy places being once more in the hands of the Egyptian sultan, Louis IX² of France—Saint Louis—got together another army, and, as in the case of the sixth crusade, it was resolved to strike at Egypt. Damietta was again singled out for attack, and the events of the sixth crusade repeated themselves.

Little difficulty was encountered at Damietta, for the garrison fled in fear before the army of 50,000 crusaders. But this early success was soon followed by disasters. The army marched on Cairo, but was terribly defeated at Mansourah, for the advance guard rashly separated itself from the main force. Sickness completed the devastation of the crusading army, and the Christians were captured in thousands. Louis himself, after great exertions, sank down exhausted, and was taken prisoner.

**Saint Louis
taken prisoner
in Egypt.**

He stoutly refused to hand over the Christian fortresses in Palestine, saying that they were not his to give, but he was induced to surrender Damietta and to pay a large ransom as the

¹ The empire of Saladin had been broken up soon after his death, and the greater part of it was ruled by the sultans of Egypt and Damascus, who were both of the family of Saladin. Their quarrels often operated in favour of the Crusaders during the thirteenth century.

² For Louis IX, cf. Chapter iii, p. 57.

price of his liberation. This crusade had failed because of the total lack of discipline and order in the crusading ranks: the hostility and suspicion between the knightly orders on the one hand and the French barons on the other had prevented the adoption and execution of any one consistent plan of campaign. When the members of a force cannot trust each other, that force no longer remains strong in the face of the enemy, and this was at the root of nearly every failure throughout the history of the crusades.

The depth of disunion between the military orders in Palestine was well illustrated in 1259, when there took place at Acre a pitched battle between the Templars and the Hospitallers, from which scarcely a Templar escaped alive. "Foes to themselves," said Beibars, the Egyptian sultan, of these knights, "their own strife and folly are their downfall." But Beibars himself completed this downfall. In four campaigns (1263-69) he destroyed all the Christian strongholds except Tripoli and Acre, not hesitating to slaughter and flay alive those Christian captives who refused to abjure their faith.

One more attempt was made to stave off the doom which threatened the Latins in the East.

In 1270 Louis IX left France with 60,000

**Tenth Crusade,
1270-72.**

men and sailed to Tunis, intending to proceed from thence to Palestine. But most of the army, including the saintly king himself, fell victims to a great plague, and Edward of England—afterwards Edward I—was the only prince of any fame who reached the Holy Land. Even his bravery failed to do more than capture Nazareth; he was then nearly murdered by the poisoned dagger of an assassin, and in 1272 returned to England, leaving Palestine to its fate. In 1289 Tripoli was lost, and two years

**End of Christian
domination in
Syria, 1291.**

later, at the same day and hour as it had been captured from the Moslems a hundred years before. Here the last stronghold of the Christians, fell before the overwhelming numbers of the Mamelukes.¹

So ended the crusades, and even before the end came, the crusading spirit was exhausting itself in persecuting the Albigenian heretics in Europe. Nor would any further expedition to Palestine have been attended with success if carried out on the same lines as this series of ten crusades, whose failure we have

just recorded. Discord and disunion had ruined them, and the absence of any

Reasons for failure of the Crusades.

strong paramount authority had enfeebled every effort. For the Crusaders had represented various classes and various countries, and it is hardly surprising that they refused to obey a small potentate like the King of Jerusalem, whose authority was limited to a portion of Southern Syria, and whose word was seldom law even in his own dominions. In the face of this disorderly spirit which was abroad, the uncontested bravery and heroic powers of endurance so often displayed in the crusades could effect little permanent good. Added to this there were in every crusading army many of the worst class of adventurer—not seldom including criminals—who by the laxness of their discipline and their bestial immorality contaminated their better comrades.

In contrast to the disunion of the Crusaders was the unity of their opponents; at least from the time of Saladin onwards the Moslems had been more united than

¹ Mamelukes, the name given to the body-guard of the Egyptian sultans. They were mostly Turkish and Circassian slaves in origin, but they became an exceedingly strong military caste, and for centuries controlled the election of the sultan. Syria remained under the Mameluke sultans of Egypt until 1516-17, when both countries were conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim, and became Turkish provinces. Syria is still actually, and Egypt nominally, part of the Ottoman Empire.

the Christians, and it would be no exaggeration to say that throughout the crusades their armies were marked by far more perfect discipline, and their treatment of captives was more merciful, than that of the champions of Christianity.

But though the crusades had failed in their main purpose, and the Turks remained masters of the Holy Land, yet the crusading movement was not without its good results. It brought the states of Europe into common action, and for a time turned away their attention from their own selfish interests to the pursuit of a loftier ideal. Two centuries of intercourse with the East inevitably led the East and West to know each other better, and some extension of knowledge and ideas was bound to follow. It

Results of the
Crusades.

must not be forgotten that the Arab civilization, (1) Good.

which had its two great centres at Bagdad and Cordova, was far in advance of the European civilization of the time, and there followed in the wake of the crusading armies learned men who must to some extent have come into touch with Mohammedan learning, science, and art. Finally, trade and mercantile activity were promoted. Venice and Genoa grew to greatness by their Eastern trade, and it was the crusades which opened up this trade by making it possible to establish traffic centres in the Eastern Mediterranean. On the other hand,

the crusades were productive of not a little evil (2) Bad. which made itself felt afterwards in Europe. Firstly, they fostered a spirit of bloodshed and intolerance such as was let loose on the fair domains of Languedoc during the Albigensian Crusades in the thirteenth century.¹ Secondly, they unduly increased the power of the Papacy, and so laid up a store of future trouble. The popes had organized the crusades, ordered kings

¹ Cf. Chapter iii, p. 57.

and emperors to fight for the Cross, and had levied taxes in almost every country to pay the expenses of these costly expeditions. In short, they had been enabled largely by means of the crusades to reach a pinnacle of greatness, and to make good their claims of right of interference in the affairs of the Western nations to such an extent that some great conflict of authority between the Papacy and the temporal princes of Christendom became inevitable. The Babylonish captivity, which shortly followed, was not therefore surprising, and the eagerness with which in the Reformation movement Northern Europe cast off the yoke of the Papacy was partly due to that excess of papal power and arbitrary interference to which the crusades had been the chief contributor.

[With fuller space at our disposal we should have been able to point out more in detail how the crusades affected the different classes of the European communities, such as the land-owners, great and small, and the boroughs. For the crusading movement had very far-reaching results in the most unexpected quarters.]

CHAPTER VII

THE RISE AND CONQUESTS OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS

The Turks are a branch of the great Mongolian race, which has in all ages held such an important place in Asiatic history.

They are first heard of in the sixth century A.D., when a tribe of Turks broke loose from Tartar rule, to which the greater part of Asia was at that time subject. Two branches of the Turkish race are especially prominent in history, the Seljuks and the Ottomans.

Origin and
early history
of the Turks.

The Seljuks were so called because they followed the

descendants of Seljuk, a Turkish chieftain in Central Asia. Sweeping over Persia and Western Asia, in the eleventh century they undertook for the Mohammedan Caliph of Bagdad the defence and government of his dominions, and the Seljuk sultans succeeding to the power of Arabs and of Persians became the most powerful sovereigns in the East. They were at one time masters of nearly all Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, part of Persia, and Western Turkestan; and their great sultans Toghrul Bey and Malik Shah are among the most renowned conquerors that stand forth in Oriental and in Byzantine history.

(1) The Seljuk
Turks.

After the death of Malik Shah in 1092 the Seljuk Empire was broken up, and the great feudatories became semi-independent rulers owing a nominal allegiance to the descendant of the Seljuk emperors, the Sultan of Iconium in Asia Minor. The boundaries of these numerous petty sovereigns were constantly shifting, but Asia was still more upset by the great Mongol invasion of Jenghiz Khan in the thirteenth century. Many countries were devastated by him and many princes lost their thrones; but what more nearly concerns us here, the Mongol invasion dislodged many a Turkish tribe and swept it towards the west and south.

Amongst the tribes thus sent wandering was one under the chieftainship of Ertoghrul, which, pushing eastwards from Khorasan,¹ first appeared in the middle of the thirteenth century as bringing unexpected help to the Sultan of Iconium, when he was hard pressed by a Mongol army near Angora. In return for helping to defeat the Mongols this band of Turks was given

(2) The Otto-
man Turks.

Ertoghrul,
circ. 1250-88.

¹ Khorasan was a province which extended from the Caspian Sea to Beluchistan. It has generally formed part of Persia at those times when an independent Persian kingdom has existed.

land in Asia Minor, not far from the cities of Nicæa and Brusa. This was the cradle of the Ottoman Empire, and here was born in 1258 Ertoghrul's son Othman, from whom the tribe took its name of Othmanlis or Ottomans.

The district held by the Ottomans was soon increased, and received the new name of Sultanoni. It was an important vantage-ground from which to attack the now weak Eastern Empire, and the spread of Islam westwards could well be trusted to this race of hardy warriors. At the end of the thirteenth century the Seljuk dynasty came to an end, and this change of political conditions greatly accelerated the growth of the Ottomans, for they could now fight for themselves and had no superior lord to serve. Their power extended itself mostly in the west towards Europe at the expense of the Eastern emperor, and Othman pushed his borders

Othman,
1288-1326.

Conquests made from the Eastern Empire. towards the Hellespont and subdued the important city of Brusa after a lengthy siege. Othman was held to be the first Sultan of the Ottomans, for he was their first independent ruler; his predecessor had been but a petty chieftain, without dream of empire or power to achieve great conquests.

Othman was succeeded by Orkhan, who rapidly pushed on the operations his father had begun. Nicæa and Nicomedia were taken, and by 1336 the Ottomans had gained possession of the whole north-west corner of Asia Minor. Here they rested for a while whilst Orkhan consolidated his conquests and organized a standing army suitable for a people of imperial destiny.

Orkhan,
1326-59.

Foundation of the Janissaries.

The most famous portion of this army was the corps of Janissaries, which was formed in the following way. A thousand boys taken from the families of Christians captured in war were enrolled, and each year another thousand added. They were con-

verted to Islam and went through a course of Spartan discipline, but the highest honours in the state were open to them. For centuries they took the most conspicuous part in the Turkish conquests, until with the decline of the Ottoman Empire they, ^{Their extermination, 1826} like the Praetorians of Rome, abused their power and made good government so difficult that Mahmoud II deliberately exterminated them at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

We now come to a most important event in the growth of the Ottoman power, the first crossing of the Turks into Europe. The worn-out Eastern Empire had stood the test of nearly a thousand years, ^{Break-up of the Eastern Empire.} but its strength was visibly declining, and the successors of Constantine were alike a prey to civil wars and external foes. Their provinces had been lopped off one by one: Egypt and the Asiatic dominions had gone first, and now in Europe the Albanians and Servians were virtually independent, while the Venetians and Genoese were gathering the maritime possessions of Constantinople into their hands. The Ottoman Turks were the last and the most formidable foes of the Eastern Empire.

Orkhan, having well employed his twenty years of peace in good government and in military organization, took advantage of a quarrel between Venice and Genoa, in which the latter asked his ^{1356. The Turks gain a foothold in Europe.} help, to gain a foothold in Europe. Soon after he had despatched an expedition across the Bosphorus a terrible earthquake threw down the walls of the Thracian cities, and the Turks unresisted occupied several towns, including the important city of Gallipoli. When the Greek emperor, Orkhan's father-in-law, made a formal complaint, the Turkish sovereign replied that the will of God as manifested in the earthquake had opened the cities to his men.

The invasion of Europe was quickly followed by considerable conquests. Under Murad I, the son and successor of Orkhan, Thrace and Macedonia became Turkish provinces, Servia and Bulgaria paid tribute, and the Eastern emperor, his territory narrowed down to a strip round Constantinople, acknowledged himself the vassal of the sultan. That the fall of Constantinople itself did not take place now instead of a century later was due not to the strength of the empire—for what little strength remained to it was being wasted in dynastic strife—but to the rebellious character of the Balkan peoples, whose ceaseless attempts at throwing off the Ottoman yoke occupied the best energies of the Turks. Moreover, Murad saw the uselessness of forcing events. He had achieved enough, for in addition to the conquests in Europe he had increased his Asiatic dominions, and at his death four out of the ten principalities into which the Seljuk kingdom had been divided were under Ottoman rule.

His son Bayezid brought the rest of Asia Minor under his sway, and continued the work of subduing the warlike Balkan tribes. During his father's life-time a great confederation of enemies, including Hungarians and Poles, had been got together by the Servian king, Lazarus. A famous charge of Bayezid's, which confirmed his title to the name of Yilderim or Lightning,¹ won the battle of Kosovo, and defeated these allies; but the victory was saddened by the treacherous assassination of Murad at the instigation of the Servian king. On the conclusion of the battle Bayezid in the first day of his rule ordered

¹ Bayezid seems to have earned this title first by a lightning-like charge at the battle of Iconium in 1387, when he was fighting against the Seljuk Turks of Caramania.

the execution of King Lazarus, and from different motives that of his brother Yacoub. Henceforward fratricide was a common crime at the accession of a sultan, and it was always justified by a maxim of the Koran: "Disquiet is worse than putting to death".¹ Bayezid then rapidly concluded the war, bound Servia to himself by a marriage alliance, and even made Wallachia tribute.

But it was not long before the Pope, at the instance of Sigismund, king of Hungary, proclaimed a crusade against the Moslems, and volunteers came from all the courts of Europe. This new league mustered 60,000 men, and Nicopolis, an important fortress on the Danube, was besieged. Bayezid hastened thither, swearing to stable his horse in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, but the allies thought lightly of his might. The battle of Nicopolis was long and bloody, though hardly doubtful from the first, as the rashness of the French knights played into the hands of Bayezid, and the faithfulness of the Servians to their ally decided the fight in favour of the Turks. Ten thousand prisoners of war were taken, and Bayezid spent the day after the battle in having them slain and hewn in pieces.

Defeats a Christian League at Nicopolis, 1396.

Bayezid was now ruler of an empire stretching from the Danube to the Euphrates, but his success only increased his thirst for further conquests. With little difficulty he established his authority over Greece, and then proceeded to the capture of Constantinople, which was only saved by the approach of Timour,² the great Asiatic conqueror. "The career of Timour as a conqueror is unparalleled in history;

The career and power of Timour.

¹It was legalized by Mohammed II., and his Institutes contain the following passage: "The majority of my jurists have pronounced that those of my illustrious descendants who ascend the throne may put their brothers to death, in order to secure the peace of the world. It will be their duty to act accordingly."

²Or Tamarlane.

for neither Cyrus, nor Alexander, nor Cæsar, nor Attila, nor Jenghiz Khan, nor Charlemagne, nor Napoleon ever won by the sword so large a portion of the globe, or ruled over so many myriads of subjugated fellow-creatures. . . . In the thirty-six years of his reign he raged over the world from the Great Wall of China to the centre of Russia on the north; and the Mediterranean and the Nile were the western limits of his career, which was pressed eastwards as far as the sources of the Ganges. He united in his own person the sovereignty of twenty-seven countries, and he stood in the place of nine several dynasties of kings. . . . He shed more blood and caused more misery than any other man that was ever born upon the earth." Timour's boundaries marched with Bayezid's, and so a collision between the two great conquerors was inevitable. It came in 1402. Bayezid hurried to Asia Minor to meet the ruthless devastator of his provinces, and the two monarchs met at Angora. Timour had every advantage that numbers and position could give, and Bayezid increased his disadvantages by an act of insane pride. To show his contempt for the foe, he exhausted his men in a large hunting expedition and then brought them parched with thirst to the battle-field. As he had already lost the affection of his troops by his ill-considered avarice, many of them went over to the enemy, especially those Asiatic mercenaries who "abhorred the cruelty of the proud tyrant, and thought to find in Timour a more liberal leader". The Janissaries and the faithful Servian allies performed miracles of valour, but Timour's horsemen carried all before them, and Bayezid not only lost the day, but was himself taken captive. He was carried about with his conqueror in a covered litter,¹ and eight

1402. Timour
defeats Bayezid
at Angora.

¹ Hence the legend which speaks of Bayezid having been carried about in an iron cage.

months afterwards he died of hard treatment and a broken heart.

The defeat of Angora seemed to be the death-knell of the Ottoman rule in Asia, but Timour's own death in 1405 was the signal for the break-up of his mighty empire, which had been so rapidly pieced together that it lacked solidity. It was therefore possible for Mohammed I,¹ the son of Bayezid, to rebuild the shattered Turkish power. Surnamed the gentleman, said to be as "persevering as a camel", he was certainly a sultan of more than ordinary wisdom and ability; and in less than twenty years, by taking advantage of the weak and disunited condition of his foes, he was able to restore to Turkish rule the boundaries of 1400.

Mohammed I,
1413-21.

He reconstructs the
shattered Empire.

Mohammed was succeeded by Murad II, a great leader and a man of noble character, who carried on that career of conquest which had been interrupted by the invasion of Timour. Like his grandfather he laid siege to Constantinople, for the emperor had supported an impostor who sought the Ottoman throne. But when the siege had made some progress, Murad, like Bayezid, had to abandon it, owing to troubles in Asia Minor. He promptly put down a revolt which had broken out there, and, returning to Constantinople, accepted a tribute from the emperor instead of pursuing the siege, so that the empire was allowed thirty more years of life. At this moment the Christian states in the Balkans made another effort to drive the Turks from Europe, and they found a champion in Hunyadi, the famous "white knight", a

Murad II,
1421-51.

Besieges Con-
stantinople.

¹ Though Mohammed was not sole ruler until 1413 he exercised joint rule with his brothers previous to that date. This period of interregnum was one of great strife and dissension, and it was difficult for the work of reconstruction to be proceeded with until Mohammed was seated firmly on the throne.

supposed son of the Hungarian king, Sigismund. Though cruel and bloodthirsty, he was a bold and valiant general, "his victories so great as the like was never before by any Christian prince obtained against the Turks, and that his name became unto them so dreadful that they used the same to fear their crying children withal".

In 1442 and 1443 he won four victories, and gained renown by crossing the frozen Balkans in mid-winter in the face of a Turkish host. His successes were so complete, that Murad in 1444 made a peace with his enemies, by which Serbia regained her independence and Wallachia was annexed to Hungary.

Victories of
John Hunyadi.

1444. Peace of
Szegeddin.

Weary of rule, Murad now retired from the throne, desirous, like the Emperor Charles V, of spending his remaining days in calm repose. But his son, Mohammed, was too young to reign competently, and the Christians had no sooner heard of the abdication than they broke their oaths of peace and renewed the war.

War renewed. Murad hastily gathered together an army of picked veterans, and, crossing the Bosphorus, had arrived within four miles of the enemies' camp before they were aware of his approach.

The two armies met at Varna, and there was fought a most obstinate battle, which was only decided in favour

of the Turks when the death of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, caused the flight of his men, and left Hunyadi with insufficient troops to maintain the contest.

The Turks met with little further resistance in the Balkans, and Murad was able to thoroughly subdue Bosnia and Serbia, which had both lent aid to Hungary in this war. His religious toleration in the case of conquered Christians made the sultan's task easier, and when he died in 1451

1444. After battle
of Varna, Murad
subdues Bosnia
and Serbia.

He had the satisfaction of leaving an empire larger and stronger than the one he had inherited.

Mohammed II, like his father, reigned thirty years, and showed himself inferior to none of his race in capacity for war and government. But his ability was marred by a cruel violence and a treacherousness of character which horrified even his own subjects. He it was who finally humbled Constantinople to the dust and brought to an end the worn-out Eastern Empire. The emperor, Constantine Palæologus, the last of his line, had not sufficient wisdom to be friendly with his powerful neighbour, and so Mohammed prepared for the destruction of the Imperial city.

Constantinople was surrounded on two sides by sea, and on the third side by land. The land side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch, yet it alone seemed accessible,

**Mohammed II.
1451-52.
Siege and Capture of
Constantinople, 1453.**

and the Turks spared no efforts to knock down with their cannon the walls, which were in many places old and crumbling. But no sooner was a breach made or a tower overthrown than the damage was repaired by the desperate Greeks. Cannon, catapults, battering-rams, mines, were all in vain, and it seemed that unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land, the siege would have to be abandoned. But the harbour was too well guarded by Greek vessels to be entered, or even approached, by sea.

Mohammed then conceived the brilliant plan of carrying his lighter ships across the isthmus and launching them in the upper part of the harbour, where the water was too shallow for the large Greek ships to enter. Eighty-eight vessels were carried ten miles across the land, and were successfully launched in the upper harbour close to the weakest point in the defences. Mohammed then constructed a mole or pier stretching out

into the harbour opposite the town, and upon it placed his largest cannons. The continual firing of these cannon, combined with the double attack of the ships by sea and the powerful army by land, wore out the besieged and shattered the walls in several places. A great assault was planned for the dawn of May 29th, and to describe it we cannot do better than quote the words of Gibbon.¹

"The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan, the Janissary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janissaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit: the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of

¹ The plan of the city is simple. It was that of an unequal triangle surrounded on two sides by water. "The obtuse point, which advances towards the east and the shores of Asia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Bosphorus. The northern side of the city is bounded by the harbour or Golden Horn, and the southern is washed by the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. The basis of the triangle is opposed to the west, and terminates the continent of Europe" (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*). It is to be remarked that the Greeks in 1453 effectively blocked the eastern entrance of the harbour. Hence it was that the Turkish ships were transported overland to a point in the upper harbour.

Gibbon omits to mention how the capture of the city was hastened because a postern had been left open by the Greeks, through which the Turks pressed in numbers, and were thus able to mount the walls. This incident took place between the harbour and the gate of St. Romanus, which was in the west centre of the town.

Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from their vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more; the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour. In the first heat of the pursuit about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should have immediately given quarter, if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes,¹ the Chagan,² and the Caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mohammed the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins;³ her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors."

¹ Chosroes, a king of the Persians, made war on the Eastern Empire in the seventh century, and besieged the capital, but was repelled by Heraclius.

² The Chagan was the king or prince of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians many times attacked Constantinople and weakened the empire.

³ I.e. in the fifth crusade, 1201-1204. See Chapter vi, p. 84.

The wretched inhabitants took refuge in the churches and monasteries, but "no place, however sacred or sequestered, could protect the persons, or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp or the fleet; exchanged or sold according to the interest or caprice of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman Empire."

After the conquest of Constantinople, Mohammed, henceforth known as "the Conqueror", performed other deeds of valour. He easily subdued the fragments of the Greek Empire—the Peloponnese and Trebizond—and reduced to the rank of Turkish provinces Bosnia and Servia, which had been conquered by his father. The Crimea was subjugated in 1475, and remained under Ottoman domination for three centuries. Wallachia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro also were subjected, and the Turkish power had now made itself felt as far north as the boundaries of Hungary. But in this reign the Turkish arms met with some reverses. Mohammed tried in vain to conquer Moldavia; John Hunyadi successfully held Belgrade against a superior Turkish force; and Scanderbeg, a national hero of the Albanians, resisted all attempts to subdue his country for twenty years. Every Turkish army sent against him was defeated in the mountain fastnesses of Albania, but after the death of Scanderbeg in 1467 Mohammed easily subdued the country. The reduction of Albania removed the chief barrier to the advance of the Ottomans westwards, and they penetrated so far into the territory of Venice that the frightened inhabitants concluded a double treaty of alliance with the sultan. One of the great ambitions of Mohammed was the conquest of Italy, and a beginning was made by the capture of Otranto in

Further conquests of Mohammed II.

Scanderbeg in Albania.

Apulia, but on the eve of a great Italian expedition the sultan expired, and such great schemes were postponed for a generation.

His successor, Bayezid II, was not a man of great capacity; moreover, he was too much troubled by plots and risings to attempt further conquests. A large part of Asia Minor was disaffected, and the Egyptian Mamelukes successfully extended their Syrian boundary at his expense, while the first half of his reign was rendered insecure by the fear of his ambitious Brother, Prince Djem,¹ whose adventures and imprisonment in Europe, followed by his death at the hands of the Pope Alexander Borgia, form one of the most interesting episodes of the time.

Bayezid II,
1481-1512.

Prince Djem.

The year 1512 brings us to another of the most famous Turkish conquerors, Selim, called the Grim, owing to his frightful cruelty and love of carnage. A man of truly savage temper, he put to death more of his relations than any other Ottoman sultan, and no vizier had the expectation of enjoying his office under Selim more than a month.

Selim the Grim,
1512-20.

Once securely seated on the throne, he succeeded in making Moldavia tributary, and then set out to chastise the Persians, who were secretly spreading the Shiite² doctrines in Asia Minor, and thus stirring up sedition against the sultan. After a

Defeat of the
Persians, 1514.

¹ Prince Djem had on his father's death striven against his brother for the throne, and after several defeats had gone to seek the aid of the princes of Europe. But they found it more lucrative to keep him prisoner than to aid him, and Bayezid during fourteen years paid large sums of money to his captors to guard him well. The Knights of St. John at Rhodes, the French king, and the Pope in turn acted as guardians of the unfortunate prince.

² The Shiites or Shias are that one of the two great sects of Mohammedans, who believe that Ali, the fourth Caliph after the prophet Mohammed, was his first lawful successor. The Persians have always been the chief champions of this sect, whilst the Ottoman sultan has consistently championed the sunnite cause. The Sunnites are the larger sect, and are generally regarded as the more orthodox Mohammedans.

most trying campaign Selim beat the Persians at the battle of Chaldiran, and annexed to the Ottoman Empire the provinces of Kurdistan and Diarbekar. In this, as in all the other wars of the time, the Turks were superior to their enemies, largely by reason of their splendid artillery, of which they had a better equipment than even any European power.

Two years later Selim set out to attack the Egyptian Mamelukes, who had waged successful war upon his predecessor, and who while he was in Persia had threatened his flank with an army of observation in Syria. The Mamelukes, origi-

War with the
Mamelukes,
1516-17.

nally white slaves in the service of the Ayyubid sultans, had held the government of Egypt in their hands since the time of the ninth crusade, and organized themselves into a close military aristocracy, choosing the sultan from their own ranks, and often dominating or dethroning the unhappy object of their choice. But though their government of Egypt was not of the best, they at least held the reputation of being a superb body of cavalry, whose fair fame had not yet been tarnished by defeat. The Turkish army was, however, equal in discipline and superior in numbers, and the war went in Selim's favour from the beginning. The Turks after some hard fighting mastered Syria, and then advanced to Cairo, which they entered after winning the great battle of Reydaniya. The city was contested step by step and house by house, until the promise of a general pardon induced eight hundred of the most prominent Mamelukes to lay down their arms. They were, however, pitilessly murdered, and Selim gave over the town to a general massacre, in which fifty thousand human beings are said to have perished. Egypt became a Turkish province, and though the Mameluke beys were allowed to retain considerable authority in the land, yet

Conquest of
Syria and Egypt.

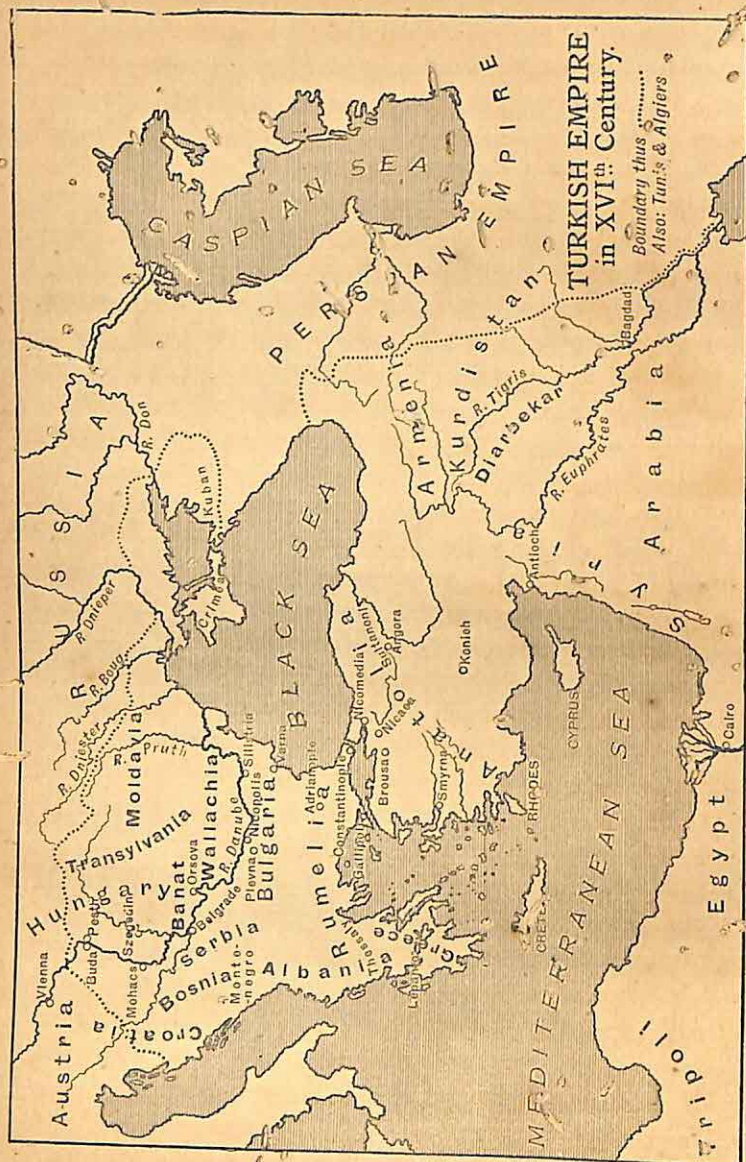
a counterpoise was found in the native Arab population, who soon discovered that their interests were very largely bound up with Constantinople. This war had not only added Syria and Egypt to the Ottoman Empire, but the sultan also succeeded to that protectorate over the holy cities of Arabia which the Mamelukes had long enjoyed. At the same time the last of the titular Abasside Caliphs, who had held a mock court at Cairo, made over to the sultan the spiritual authority of the successors of the Prophet, and henceforth the Ottoman sultan was, except in the eyes of the Shias, the supreme head of the Mohammedan world. Not content with having nearly doubled the extent of his empire, Selim projected further conquests, but in the midst of great naval preparations for the capture of Rhodes he died, after a reign of only eight years.

The line of great sultans reached its climax in the son and successor of Selim, Soliman the Great, the Magnificent, or, as the Mohammedan historians more often call him, Soliman the Law-giver, the Lord of his Age. A just man, as honourable as he was merciful, he reigned for nearly half a century, and brought the Ottoman Empire to the summit of its glory. During the first two years of his reign he stormed Belgrade and Rhodes, both of which had successfully withstood Mohammed the Conqueror. The siege of Rhodes was one of the most exciting sieges of the Middle Ages, and its fall did more than anything else to make the Turks masters of the Levant.

Soliman the Great,
1520-66.

Fall of Rhodes,
1522.

But the greater part of Soliman's military activity was devoted to the advance westwards, the Hungarian and Austrian wars. As we have seen, Servia and Bosnia had been incorporated in the Turkish Empire by Mohammed II, since whose time Hungary had acted as a



strong wall to protect Europe from the Turks. But the disastrous battle of Mohacs laid that country low, and Soliman became the real ruler of most of Hungary, appointing a native king to reign for him. However, Ferdinand of Austria claimed the crown of Hungary, so that a conflict between the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs became inevitable. Soliman, rightly judging that Ferdinand would obtain little support from others, marched on Vienna in 1529, and with a quarter of a million of men sat down to besiege the poorly-fortified city. The Viennese worked at their fortifications with desperate activity; they had a total of 23,000 men, and to avoid the useless consumption of food, all women, children, old men, and priests were made to withdraw from the city. On September 27th the memorable siege began, and so confident were the Turks of victory that the sultan vowed to take his breakfast in Vienna on the 29th. Many a wide breach was made in the walls by the Turkish cannon, and constant hand-to-hand fights took place, but a fortnight had passed, and still the Turks could not get a foothold inside the town. The last assault took place on the 14th of October, but failed like the others, as the assailants were weary and dejected by defeat, bad food, and severe weather. Soliman then abandoned the siege and returned home, hoping to renew the attack another year. He did renew the war on several occasions, but never took Vienna. He could, however, boast of having subjected the greater portion of Hungary and Transylvania to Turkish rule, and of having made this rule tolerable to the inhabitants. The Rayas or Christian tillers of the soil had their religion and their rights of property recognized by Turkish law, and so enviable was their condition that many Christian serfs migrated to Turkish territory from adjoining countries.

It was at this time that the enterprise of such great admirals as Barbarossa and Dragut extended the Turkish naval power to the Western Mediterranean and spread Turkish rule over most of the northern coast of Africa.¹ It is natural that Soliman should have thus come into conflict with Charles V, the greatest potentate of the West, and on several occasions he sought alliance with the king of France against their mutual foe. Perhaps the most notable feature in his foreign policy was his plan of making capitulations with foreign countries, by which he granted to foreign merchants full protection for person and property, the free exercise of their religion, and the safeguard of their own laws. The first of these was dated 1535, and they must take a very important place in the history of the Ottoman Empire. They still survive, and in some parts of the Ottoman Empire, such as Egypt, where an enlightened administration exists under British control, they are a continual impediment to progress and uniformity.² We must not close this account of Soliman without some mention of his great friend and counsellor, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim. Ibrahim taught his young lord more than could ever be repaid, but when Soliman had reigned only sixteen years, in a fit of jealous passion he ordered the death of his valued adviser. This was the one great blot on a reign otherwise comparatively free from bloodshed. The great sultan himself died in 1566 before a small Hungarian fortress. A determined Turkish

Great Turkish admirals.

Conquest of North Africa.

Dealings of Soliman with European princes.

The capitulations.

¹ Algiers and Tripoli were brought under the Turkish flag in this, and Tunis in the following reign.

² For they have the effect of exempting large classes of people from the law of the land. If the law be good, and if the people exempted be unruly, then the capitulations are detrimental to the best interests of the state. But in the *de facto* Ottoman Empire, where the law is Mohammedan law administered by Mohammedans, the rights conferred by the capitulations are still necessary for the security of aliens.

attack on Malta had been repulsed in the previous year by the heroism of the Knights of St. John, and Soliman was trying to retrieve his credit by a more complete reduction of Hungary when he met his death. He was succeeded by his son, Selim the Under Selim II,
1566-74. Sot, whose vicious incompetence was re- deemed by the ability of his vizier, Sokolli. This great man, being trained under the régime of Soliman, prolonged for a while the noble traditions of the best age of Turkish rule.

With the mention of these names we close our narrative of the growth and conquests of the Ottoman Turks. The zenith of their power had been attained within three hundred years from the time when they had made their first appearance in Asia Minor, and Soliman the Magnificent had been the apotheosis of Turkish greatness. The Greatest strength
and extent of
Turkish power now
reached. area and population of the Ottoman Empire were larger than those of any European kingdom of the time. The Turks had succeeded alike to the fairest provinces of the Abbaside Caliphate, and of the Eastern Roman Empire; their conquests had inspired terror in East and West, and they were supreme both by land and sea. The only after-additions to the empire were Cyprus and Crete, both conquered from the Venetians, the one in 1573 and the other in 1669. But in spite of these conquests the Turks were never really so powerful again as under Soliman. Indeed, within five years of his death their sea-power sustained a great shock in the battle of Lepanto, where Don John of Austria annihilated the Turkish fleet.

With the seventeenth century there set in a period of decline, which, in spite of several short warlike revivals, has continued to the present day. The Decline of the
Turkish Empire. causes of this decline are partly internal and partly external. There is no doubt that the Turks

are a great fighting race, but there is equally little doubt that they are a poor governing race. So long as there were fresh realms to conquer, the Turk retained his vigour and his intellect, but no sooner was the epoch of conquests passed than the race deteriorated, and ceased to produce great leaders and able monarchs. The sultans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are a group unequalled in the history of any other people, but those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, with few exceptions, of a far inferior calibre.

All empire founded and held together by force, including people of diverse races and creeds, cannot remain vigorous unless the central power be strong, and in an autocratic state like Turkey the central power is the sultan.

Causes of this decline.

1. Internal.

When, therefore, weak hands began to hold the reins, when the influence of females and favorites became paramount, the empire so grandly conquered began to fall to pieces, and pashas of distant provinces sought to make themselves independent, in fact if not in name. Further, the Janissaries assumed the rôle of the old Roman Praetorian guards. They appointed and deposed sovereigns, became the centre of bribery and corruption, and by constant revolts paralysed the power of the sultan when all his force was needed to resist the gathering foes without. Amongst these foes were Austria and

2. External.

Russia, Russia being so much the more formidable of the two that the growth of Russian power in the eighteenth century and onwards has been the chief external cause of Turkish decline. The narrowing of Turkish boundaries at the hands of Russia began at the close of the seventeenth century, but it was not until the eighteenth century that this became the fixed object of Russian policy and the main-spring of every czar's ambition.

This growth of Russia, at the expense of Turkey, will be handled in a later chapter.¹

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREATNESS OF SPAIN

I. Growth of Spain to the Death of Charles V

At the fall of the Western Roman Empire the province of Spain was conquered by the Visigoths, or Western Goths, and under their vigorous kings Spain soon became the most flourishing of all the Teutonic kingdoms.

Visigoths conquer Spain, fifth century A.D.

But in the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs, who had conquered all the north of Africa, crossed to Spain, and, aided by a number of discontented Gothic nobles, within ten years conquered all of Spain save the mountain region in the north. Not content with this, they crossed the Pyrenees and invaded France. But Charles Martel defeated them at Tours in 732, and thus the Mohammedans had to abandon their dreams of European domination. They maintained, however, their dominion in Spain, and the Christian Goths remained pent up in the mountains of Asturias and Old Castile, waiting till the day should come for driving the aliens out of the land.

Arabs invade Spain and conquer Visigoths.

Battle of Xeres, 711.

Battle of Tours, 732.

¹ Cf. Chapter x for the chief Russo-Turkish wars in the last two centuries, and the gradual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

Neither in this chapter nor in that have we spoken much of the seventeenth century, for it is less important in Turkish history than either the two preceding or the two succeeding centuries. The most important event in the seventeenth century was the temporary warlike revival under the Kiuprili, a great family, who supplied three notable viziers. Another abortive siege of Vienna took place (1683), and Turkish Hungary was severed from the Porte. This determined attempt to arrest the decline of Turkish power had signally failed.

The Arabs, or Moors as they were called in Spain, were far more civilized than the Goths, and when they

The Caliphate of Cordova. had set up the Caliphate of Cordova an era of great prosperity dawned. Magnificent

cities were built, universities were founded, learning and art progressed, and the golden age

Abderrahman III, "The Great Khalif", 912-961. of Arab literature was reached in the reign of the Caliph Abderrahman III.

The Moors showed a tolerance in religious matters far in advance of their age: they left the

Civilization of the Arabs in Spain. Christians their own religion and customs, and often allowed intermarriage.

But the Christian Goths, whom from this point it will be more convenient to call Spaniards, never ceased hoping that they might regain the entire peninsula by driving the Moors back into Africa. They had divided themselves up into several groups, founding kingdoms

The Goths (Spaniards) found small kingdoms in the north, and gradually extend their power southward. under the names of Leon, Portugal, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon. The subsequent history of Spain tells of the extension of these kingdoms south-

ward, and the eventual union of Spain under Castile and Aragon. These at least are the most important episodes in the growth of Spanish nationality. It took four centuries to drive the Moors out of Spain. The

The Holy War. Holy War, as it was called, began in the eleventh century with the rising of the Zealots, and ended in the fifteenth century with the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The war gave occasion for many famous feats of arms, amongst which the doings of the Cid were the

Exploits of the Cid. most remarkable. A bold warrior, he was as great a terror to the Moors as the Lion-Heart to the Saracens of Palestine. They christened him the "Miracle of God", for he fought like a whirlwind,

and with few men would defeat great hosts. Before he died in 1099 much of Northern Spain had been retaken from the Moors, including the important city of Valencia. The advance of the Spaniards was hastened by internal strife in the Caliphate, and these dissensions at last so weakened the Moors that they called in the aid of fresh bands of Moslems from Africa.¹ But this fresh accession of strength only served to delay the inevitable. The hardy Spaniards, disciplined by centuries of self-repression, were more than a match for the luxurious and ease-loving Moors.

Dissensions in
the Caliphate.

In the great battle of Tolosa half the Caliphate was lost, and some twenty years after the Moors were driven to the south-eastern corner of Spain, where they held the kingdom of Granada for two centuries and a half. Meanwhile the smaller Spanish kingdoms were gradually absorbed in the greater, until Castile and Aragon ruled over the larger part of Christian Spain.

Battle of
Tolosa, 1212.

The Moors
driven into
Granada, 1238.

In 1492 the final reckoning came. Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who had united the Spanish crowns, conquered Granada after a number of bloody wars, and the last Moorish king, Boabdil, weakly surrendered himself, saying, "Verily it was written in the Book of Fate that I should be unlucky, and that the kingdom should come to an end under my rule". The Moors were allowed to remain in the country and practise their religion, and by their industrious habits they largely contributed to the greatness of Spain.

Ferdinand and
Isabella unite
Spain, and con-
quer Granada.

End of the
Moorish king-
dom, 1492.

¹ But they subdued the Saracens, whom they came to protect, and for a century and a half the Caliphate of Cordova was ruled by the Almoravides and Almohades, the latter of whom possessed a large empire in the north-west of Africa.

The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is important in many ways. It marks the beginning of Spanish greatness, for the union of Spain brought her strength to play a greater part in European politics. Ferdinand was the

Importance of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

most successful statesman of his age: he made countless combinations against the ambitious kings of France,

Ferdinand obtains Naples, 1504.

and finally won Naples for himself. It was during this reign also that Colum-

bus¹ made his great discoveries, and laid the founda-

Christopher Columbus finds Spanish Colonial Empire. 1492-1506.

tions of the Spanish Empire beyond the Seas. An increase of power abroad

usually either indicates or causes an increase of power at home. So in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the power of the crown grew, and made itself felt on the side of order at the expense of the nobles, who, with their perpetual feuds, were the promoters of disorder.

It was a matter of great sorrow to the king and queen that they had no son to succeed them. But their daughter Joanna had married Philip, heir of Maximilian the emperor, and the issue of this marriage was Charles V, who

Growth of royal power in Spain.

by the early death of his father and the madness of his mother succeeded to the dominions of both grandfathers. In 1516 he became King of Spain,

Charles V. becomes King of Spain, 1516.

Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. In 1519 he succeeded to the hereditary dominions—

Austria and the Netherlands—of Maximilian, and was a few month later chosen by the Prince Electors¹

¹ Christopher Columbus was a native of Genoa, whose life-object was to discover a shorter route to the East Indies. He was at length employed by Ferdinand and Isabella, and made his first voyage in 1492, when he reached one of the Bahamas, thinking it to be a part of Asia. In subsequent voyages he discovered others of the West Indian islands, and also reached the mainland of South America. Before his death in 1506 he suffered greatly from the inconstancy of royal favour.

¹ Vide note, p. 139, Chapter viii.

to succeed him as Holy Roman Emperor. The Austrian dominions included the Duchy of Milan in North Italy, and Franche Comté, which, with the Netherlands, represented Maximilian's share of Burgundy through his wife Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold. The curious point about this great concentration of power is that it was built up peaceably by marriage alliances. By a series of lucky marriages more than half of Western Europe had fallen into the hands of one young man. History has shown that Charles inherited too much; the task of governing so many dominions was too hard, and his very greatness involved him in ceaseless war. A brief sketch of his long reign will make this more apparent.

Archduke of Austria, &c., and Emperor, 1519.

His vast inheritance.

Notice first his policy in Spain.

The beginning of Charles's reign was unfortunate. More Fleming than Spanish in feeling, he tarried too long in Flanders after his succession to the crown, and having at length reached Spain, he alienated affection by the employment of foreigners. The Castilians above all wanted a national and resident king, and discontent led to friction in the Cortes. Revolutionary proposals were made, and revolt broke out in several provinces,¹ the communes attacking both king and nobles. The nobles thus sided with the monarchy, an unusual coalition, and at last the resistance of the people was overcome. Charles never forgot these unhappy experiences, and made it his policy henceforth to restrain and depress the Cortes² and the communes, though at the

The Spanish policy of Charles.

Revolt of the Communes, 1519-25.

¹ More especially in Valencia.

² Cortes is the Spanish name for Parliament. The Cortes of the time of the old Spanish kingdoms previous to the union had maintained a more sturdy independence than the parliaments of any other country in the middle ages, except England.

same time he strove to keep the nobles in check by giving them little effective power, and the Church by getting the Pope under his political influence. On the whole, Charles' Spanish policy was just and good. But it was his misfortune to live in a time when economics were unknown, so that many bad laws were made regulating trade and currency, whilst there was seldom a sufficiency of coin for Spanish needs, owing to the vast expenditure in war. The treasury was generally empty, and the difficulties under which trade laboured gave small hope of increased prosperity.

Charles tries to diminish power of
(a) Cortes, (b) Communes, (c) Nobles, (d) Church.

Economic fallacies of the time.

Charles' policy in the Netherlands. certain communes, such as Ghent, yet on the whole he left untouched the most cherished privileges of the Netherlanders.

His policy in Italy was to drive the French entirely out of that peninsula, and to make Hapsburg influence supreme there. As Charles inherited from both grandfathers hostility against France, Francis I was his natural enemy. Quarrels about Navarre and Roussillon, both border provinces, and Burgundy, now added to France, were only subsidiary to the main cause of quarrel, the domination of Italy. There was added to this a personal rivalry between the two monarchs, for both were candidates for the empire, and Charles' election only served to accentuate Francis' hatred of his over-powerful neighbour.

Rivalry with Francis I.
Causes of it.

The wars of Charles and Francis.

Charles fought four wars with Francis, and one with Henry II, his successor. The fighting took place mostly in Italy, but in a lesser degree in Germany and France. Francis had some years be-

fore Charles' accession conquered Milan, a fief or tributary state of the empire.¹ He had also attempted to conquer Naples in the time of Ferdinand, and he was prepared to again fight for his claims to the throne of Naples.²

The first war began in 1520. The Pope, the Neapolitans, and Spaniards drove the French out of Lombardy in four campaigns. This success in Italy was followed up by an invasion.

The first war,
1520-26.

France, the object being to establish Provence as a separate kingdom for the Constable of Bourbon, a discontented French noble, who lent his aid to Charles. Henry VIII of England promised help, but neither he nor Charles co-operated sufficiently with Bourbon. Bourbon there-

Francis after
some successes
beaten at Pavia,
1525. Francis
taken prisoner.

fore retreated to Italy, and Francis, following up his retreat, entered Milan and prepared to attack Pavia. The Imperialists, coming to relieve the town, attacked Francis, defeated him at the battle of Pavia, and took him prisoner. He was forced to accept the Treaty of Madrid, by which, together with other concessions, he abandoned all his Italian claims.

Peace of Madrid,
1526.

But Spanish supremacy in Italy was not yet secure. Charles was heartily detested in that country, and the Treaty of Madrid was followed by the Holy League, in which Venice, Milan, the Papacy, and Florence, aided by Francis and Henry VIII of England, made war upon Charles. The Italian states hoped to expel the Spaniard and re-establish

The second war,
1526-29. The
Italian states
join Francis.

¹ As stated in Chapter v, the Holy Roman Emperor originally claimed dominion over the whole of Italy, except the very southernmost portion and the States of the Church. But the effective power of the Empire in this peninsula was early limited, and a shadowy suzerainty over Lombardy was all that now remained.

² Naples had belonged to the House of Anjou for nearly two hundred years, until it was seized by Alfonso V of Aragon in 1435. The last survivor of the Anjou family in the main line had recently died, bequeathing his rights and claims to the king of France, his cousin.

lish the old system of a balance of power between the native states, but in reality they were fighting for France rather than for themselves. This second war was not an unmixed success for Charles; at one time everything was going in favour of the French. It was signalized by the sack of Rome and the capture of the Pope, Clement VII, which produced such an outcry against Charles that he found it convenient to treat Clement gently. At last Francis was driven out of Italy, and in 1529 he signed what is known as the Ladies Peace, or Treaty of Cambray, which confirmed in all essential particulars the Treaty of Madrid. Charles was supreme in Italy, and he consolidated his position by a series of marriages between Italian dukes and members of his family.

The Pope taken prisoner.

Francis driven out of Italy.

Treaty of Cambray; 1529.

The third, fourth, and fifth wars less important.

Two further wars were fought before Francis died in 1547, but neither of them modified to any extent the Treaty of Cambray. The fifth French war likewise made no change in the map of Italy, though it much affected the success of Charles' schemes in Germany.¹

On the whole, Charles remained the victor; the House of Hapsburg retained the predominance in Europe; the supremacy of Spain was unquestioned, and it was only after a century of misgovernment that this supremacy was lost and inherited by France.

Result of the series of wars with France.

Charles' policy in Germany aimed at restoring the full strength of the Mediæval Empire, and he all but accomplished his aim. But to have quite succeeded in crush-

Charles' policy in Germany.

¹ The Italian wars served to show the world that the Spanish country was unsurpassed in Europe. The Swiss pikemen had hitherto held that proud position, but for a century on the superiority of the Spaniards was unchallenged.

ing the semi-independent princes of the empire he required a lasting peace with France, and this his Italian policy prevented. Moreover, early in his reign there arose the Reformation movement in Germany, and the acceptance of the new doctrines by many princes rendered still more difficult the establishment of unity in that distracted country.

Tries to re-establish a strong empire.

In 1529 the Sultan Soliman the Great, in league with Francis, advanced upon Vienna, and the necessity of combining against the Turk led Charles to make concessions to the Lutheran princes. Yet he only waited an opportunity

But the Reformation had increased the disunion of Germany.

to cancel these concessions, and at last, in 1546, being at peace with Europe, he marched into Germany, beat the

Temporary success of Charles, 1546. He beats the Schmalkaldic League.

Protestant princes of the Schmalkaldic League¹ and established a strong central authority in the empire.

But the religious compromise he drew up was distasteful, and his high-handed measures soon produced a reaction, for

Reaction against his centralizing policy.

the princes had enjoyed independence too long to submit to a second Barbarossa. Moreover, Charles' policy became more and more Spanish as life went on; he was planning the succession of his son Philip to the empire instead of his brother Ferdinand, although Ferdinand had been promised the reversion of that dignity, and was as much liked in Germany as Philip was hated.

And so the League of Heidelberg was formed in 1553, and the princes were assisted by Henry II, king of France. Charles, who was once nearly taken prisoner himself, had to sign the Peace of Augsburg, by which full right was given to

League of Heidelberg, 1553.

¹ The League of Schmalkalden was entered into by the Protestant princes in 1530 for mutual defence. Charles was only prevented from coming into conflict with it at an earlier date by the reasons given above in the text.

Lutheran princes to fix the religion of their subjects.

It results in the religious peace of Augsburg, 1555, which marks the failure of Charles' German policy.

This peace was only a temporary make-shift; its inefficiency brought on the

Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century, but it is important as marking

the first real triumph of the Reformation in Germany and the failure of Charles' centralizing and unifying policy in that country. The lack of money may have contributed to his failure, but he must have failed in any case. It was too late to restore life to the dying empire, nor could a man with such a burden of sovereignty be strong enough to bridle the Reformation. The immensity of his task can be gathered from the recital of his actions in Italy and Germany and Spain; still there are other points to notice.

Not only was it Charles' duty to resist the Turks in Europe, but it fell to the king of Spain and Naples to

Charles tries to subdue Barbarossa and the Mediterranean pirates.

clear the Western Mediterranean of the Algerian pirates, who, under their chief Barbarossa,¹ claimed protection of the

Turkish flag. Several attempts were made to subdue him, but no permanent success was achieved, and it was not until the battle of Lepanto² in 1571 that the Turkish sea-power began to decline.

We have noticed how intensely Spanish Charles' policy became in his later years. He had realized the impossibility of maintaining so great an empire under one

He plans the division of his dominions.

man, and had accordingly planned a division between Ferdinand and Philip. Still,

he aimed at concentrating the greater power in the hands of Philip. Milan was withdrawn from the empire and annexed to Spain, and a marriage

¹ For Barbarossa, see Chapter vii, p. 110.

² Don John of Austria, the brilliant but self-willed half-brother of Philip II, was in command at Lepanto.

was arranged between Philip and Mary Tudor of England, a scheme which promised some day to bring England under the Spanish crown.

Marriage of
Philip and
Mary Tudor.

The policy was sound, as the holder of the Netherlands must always seek in England an ally against the greed of France. But, in fact, no issue came of this union, and the succession of the Protestant Elizabeth to the throne of England laid up a store of trouble for Charles' son. In 1556

Retirement of
Charles, 1556.

Charles, worn out in body and mind, transferred his sovereignty to Philip, and retired to live in a secluded monastery in Spain. There he lingered for two years, hastening his end by excessive eating, constantly sending advice to his beloved son, and seeking consolation in religion for the failure of his hopes.

His death,
1558.

ii. Philip II of Spain

Philip II succeeded to the throne of Spain in the thirtieth year of his age. A smaller man than his father, he followed the statecraft and policy of Charles, seeking at once the greatness of Spain and the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church.

Philip II,
1558-98.

"He was slow, reticent, and distrustful, and the task which he inherited could hardly have had a more unfortunate champion than the monarch who led it to defeat. His sense of duty was overwhelm-

His character
and methods
of government.

ingly great. He was modest, laborious, and conscientious almost to a fault; a good husband and father; and he strenuously did his best through life according to his limited lights. He accepted his great inheritance as a sacred trust, but his qualities were not equal to the task, and he was a splendid failure."¹

¹ Martin Hume's *Spain*, 1479-1788, page 119.

His government became more and more a personal despotism; the ministers were nothing more than able clerks, every matter being brought to Philip personally, so that the Spanish Empire was ruled by a man who lived like a hermit in his study, out of touch with the world, and ignorant of the real needs of his dominions. Concentration of all power in his own hands was Philip's aim.

The Church in Spain was subjected to him at the cost of many quarrels with the Pope; the nobles lost still more of their privileges; the power of cortes and municipalities was still further undermined. To obtain complete religious uniformity, the Moors, a thriving, industrious population, were driven with great bloodshed out of Andalusia, and all attempts at religious reform were strangled by the Inquisition. The false economic regulations of Charles were continued and aggravated, so that growing industries were throttled, and the treasury was never full. Unsound taxes were imposed—*e.g.* the "alcabalas" on all sales—and Philip before his death had brought Spain to the verge of ruin. But he was Spanish to the backbone, and so the Spaniards forgave him all.

The three chief aims of Philip's foreign policy were: (1) to stifle the Reformation in England; (2) to put down the Huguenots in France and bring that country under his own influence; (3) to crush the Dutch revolt and stamp out Protestantism in the Netherlands. There remained another object dear to Philip's heart, which partook of the nature of both home and foreign policy, the unification of the Spanish Peninsula. This was successfully achieved in 1580 by

He aims at absolute despotism.

Increases the power of the Crown at the expense of all classes and bodies.

The Moors driven out of Spain.

His false economic measures prevent the growth of trade.

Philip's three chief aims.

the conquest of Portugal, but in each of the three aims stated above he failed egregiously. We shall first discuss Philip's English policy.

Though the revolt of the Netherlands will be treated separately, yet it cannot be altogether detached from Philip's English policy. As formerly he had hoped by marrying Mary Tudor to secure the perpetual help of England in support of the Netherlands and against France, so now, though that dream had been dissolved by the death of Mary, he trusted to obtain the alliance of Elizabeth and the promise of her support. That Elizabeth was a Protestant made the case more awkward, but that supplied all the more fuel to Philip's religious zeal. At first he asked Elizabeth to marry him, and when she refused he looked favourably upon the suit of his Catholic cousin, an Austrian archduke. For years he strove to gain his ends diplomatically; he did not despair that Elizabeth would some day turn a good Catholic, and he feared to hurry matters by war, because France, the old enemy of Spain, might cast in her lot with England against him. Then came the revolt in the Netherlands, which, gradually fomented by Elizabeth, assumed vast proportions. To crush it was Philip's first endeavour, but this might involve crushing England, who supported it. Fortunately for him the religious troubles in France reached such a point in the eighties that he could secure the neutrality of that country. As Elizabeth fomented disorder in the Netherlands, so did Philip in France,

Philip's English policy.

He wishes to gain an alliance with England for religious and political reasons.

But Elizabeth rejects all offers, and helps the Dutch revolt.

Philip therefore inclined to make war on England.

Additional reasons for doing so.

¹ Philip took advantage of a disputed succession in Portugal to send an army into the country and have himself proclaimed king. Portugal and all her colonies were annexed to the Spanish crown for sixty years.

where he was helped by the Guises, the ultra-Catholic relatives of Mary Queen of Scots. Mary Stuart, who was next heir to Elizabeth, in 1586 made Philip her heir in place of her Protestant son James, and Philip was thus doubly spurred on to attack Elizabeth. He would fulfil his cherished dream of making England Catholic once again, and he might at the same time win a crown. The execution of Mary in 1587 increased the force of these arguments, for Philip could now claim the crown directly for himself.

And so he prepared a vast armament to invade England. With the greatest difficulty money enough was raked together, but the equipment of the fleet was inefficient, and the commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was incapable. From the first the Armada was doomed to failure.

The invincible Armada.

In July, 1588, the fleet of one hundred and thirty-one vessels sailed from Lisbon. After undergoing much damage by storms it reached the Channel and sailed slowly up towards Calais, followed by the smaller but faster English ships. At last it reached Calais and anchored outside the harbour, intending to proceed to Dunkirk, when the land army should be ready assembled there to be ferried across to England.

Story of the Armada, 1588.

Battle of Gravelines. But English fire-ships drove the Spaniards from their anchorage, and the next day the united English fleet attacked Medina Sidonia off Gravelines. A hard fight was rewarded by victory for the English, and the

Failure of the Armada.

relics of the invincible Armada escaped up the North Sea, returning home without further resistance by the Orkneys and the west coast of Ireland. Great storms wrecked many of the Spanish vessels on the homeward voyage, and only sixty-five battered wrecks reached Spain.

Philip was financially beggared by his great failure, and more than that, he began to lose that supremacy of the sea which Spain had held for a hundred years. The war was well followed up on the part of England, and during the ensuing fifteen years Spanish ports were often entered, and Spanish fleets captured by English seamen. This is the real Elizabethan period, the age of Drake and Raleigh, Hawkins and Gilbert, fighters, explorers, adventurers, and discoverers.

The war between Spain and England continued at sea, 1588-1603.

One of Philip's life objects had been denied him, nor was he more successful in his second great aim, to pacify the Netherlands, and keep them within the pale of the Church. The Netherlands,

Philip and the Netherlands.

which are now divided into two separate kingdoms, Belgium and Holland, had passed from the House of Burgundy to the Hapsburgs on Maximilian's marriage with the daughter and heiress of the last duke. Charles V had inherited them from his grandfather, and had taken especial pains to please the inhabitants, for he regarded them as his own people, and, besides, their prosperity would be useful to him. They were divided into seventeen provinces, each with its own constitution and peculiar privileges. They enjoyed a considerable amount of independence, and were jealous of any foreign interference. Their wealth and industry were far-famed, and Antwerp was in the sixteenth century superseding Venice as the commercial capital of the world. A dominion of this type was certain to be a thorn in the side of Philip, with his passion for uniformity and centralization. He therefore formed the intention of making the Netherlands an integral part of the Spanish monarchy by increasing the royal power at the expense of local independence.

Their history and constitution.

Their prosperity.

Philip tries to introduce absolutism.

His object did not long remain hidden. At the very beginning of his reign he provoked considerable opposition by the appointment of Spaniards to the chief posts in the country, and by his marked neglect of those native nobles who were well fitted by talent and experience to handle the high affairs of state. The most notable of these were William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and Counts Egmont and Horn—all three men of ability in statesmanship and war.

Provokes opposition in three ways.

I. Appointment of aliens to high posts.

II. Presence of Spanish troops.

III. Religious persecution.

Secondly, Philip provoked opposition by the presence of Spanish troops in the Netherlands.

Thirdly, his religious policy was most unwise, and it united all classes against him.

For some time past the reformed doctrines had been spreading in the Netherlands, and Philip, regarding himself as God's chosen instrument to suppress heresy, strengthened the hands of the Inquisition and set on

The Inquisition. foot a vigorous persecution. Opposition rapidly spread amongst all classes of society, and in

1566 the disaffected signed what is known as "the Compromise", a bond which stigmatized the Inquisition

The Compromise signed, 1566. as "iniquitous, contrary to all laws, human and divine". The signers bound themselves

to "extirpate and eradicate the thing in any form as the mother of all iniquity and disorder", and they drew up a petition requesting the suspension of this "mother of iniquity".¹ Philip made a show of acquiescing, but a week later declared his intention of upholding the Inquisition, "for I will never be a ruler of heretics". Then

¹ At that time Margaret of Parma, half-sister of Philip, was regent in the Low Countries, and when a number of malcontents came to present her with a petition on the subject of the Inquisition, these men—some three hundred in number—were spoken contemptuously of as "beggars" by one of Margaret's counsellors. The word stuck, and Philip's opponents henceforth gladly adopted the name of Beggars.

began tumults and image-breaking, until the whole country was in an uproar. Opposition always made Philip more unyielding, and in 1567 he despatched the Duke of Alva to suppress the rebellion. Alva was a great captain, but was thoroughly detested in the Netherlands. Motley, the historian of the Dutch Republic, has written of him: "Virtues he had none, vices few, but they were colossal". In sufferable pride and unrelenting cruelty were his outstanding vices. Alva set to work systematically to punish all offenders, both Catholic and Protestant—those who had shared in the rebellion and those who merely sought to flee the country. By wholesale executions and by victories in the field Alva claimed by the end of 1569 to have put down heresy and to have reduced the Netherlands to obedience. But then he made a great mistake. To make the provinces pay for the war he introduced a hateful tax called the "Alcabalas",¹ or tenth penny, to be paid on all sales of property and merchandise. This tax had well-nigh ruined Spanish industries, and its imposition threatened the commercial prosperity of the Netherlands. The rebellion broke out again with redoubled fury, and the whole populace was at last welded into one solid phalanx bent on resisting this attempt to establish a despotic system of government, seeking not to throw off its allegiance to Philip, but to uphold the constitutional privileges which Alva and Philip were undermining.

Alva sent to the Netherlands, 1567.

Character of Alva.

Restores order, 1567-69.

But by introducing the Alcabalas he rouses the rebellion afresh.

The whole country now in opposition.

Aims of the insurgents.

From 1572 the rising took the form of organized resistance, and William of Orange—called the Silent—was the moving spirit of the Confederates. Their prospects were most en-

Course of the rebellion from 1572.

¹ Cf. p. 124 in this chapter.

couraging, as Alva's cruelty and unwarrantable taxation had united Protestant Hollanders and Catholic Flemings against him. In 1573 Alva,

William of Orange
its head.

broken down with failure, was recalled and replaced by Requesens, whose task it was to pacify the Catholic south at any price. He died in

Requesens suc-
ceeds Alva, 1573.

1576 before the work of pacification was complete, and was succeeded by Don John of Austria, the brilliant and wayward half-brother of Philip, the vigorous opponent of the Turk, and the hero of Lepanto. Before he arrived the

Don John succeeds
Requesens, 1576.

outbreak of the Spanish Fury intensified the difficulty of his task. The Spanish troops, become a wild, undisciplined rabble by want and ill-payment, sacked the city of Antwerp and massacred thousands of unarmed citizens. The emptiness of Philip's treasury had once again been an obstacle to peace. It was in this year, and largely owing to the Spanish Fury, that all the seventeen states

Pacification of
Ghent, 1576.

bound themselves together, by the Pacification of Ghent, to expel the Spaniards. Don John, following his brother's wishes, agreed to the demands of the Netherlanders, and prepared to withdraw the Spanish troops. But misunderstandings soon arose,

Death of Don
John, 1578.

and in 1577 war was again begun. Don John in 1578 defeated the Netherlanders at Gemblours, but a few months later he died, the victim of a pestilence.

Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the greatest commander of the age, was appointed to succeed him. Had Parma been chosen some ten years

Parma suc-
ceeds him.

before, the rebellion might have been successfully suppressed, and even now that it had assumed greater proportions, his patient skill was rewarded by the recovery of the southern provinces. He so far conciliated them that they submitted

Submission of
the southern
provinces.

to Philip on the condition of retaining their constitutional privileges. The absence of any religious difference had made this settlement possible. But the Protestant north knew that submission was hopeless unless they were prepared to abjure their faith. In 1581 the seven northern provinces bound themselves in a closer union, and renounced their allegiance to Philip II of Spain. William of Orange accepted the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, whilst the other five provinces, in the hope of obtaining French help, chose the Duke of Anjou as their sovereign. He turned out to be a miserable failure, and finally retired to die in Paris, while the Prince of Orange was assassinated the same year.¹

Declaration of
Independence
by the northern
provinces, 1581.

Murder of
William, 1594.

Parma, no doubt hoped now to recover the northern provinces as he had recovered the southern ones. But affairs had gone too far for this: the sturdy Hollanders had no thought of surrender, and though Parma terminated the famous siege of Antwerp successfully (1585) he was not destined to gain further victories of any magnitude.

The Netherlands
receive help
from England
and France.

The French Huguenots had at intervals for some years past sent aid to the Netherlands in men and money, and now that their energies were concentrated on the struggle at home, Elizabeth in her turn gave open assistance to Holland, considering that the longer that country held out the longer would Philip delay his threatened attack upon herself. Philip, however, now secure of the neutrality of France, was meditating his long-protracted invasion of England which we have noticed above. Its failure reacted favourably upon the fortunes of the

¹ Philip had set a price on his head, and encouraged attempts on his life. This was the last of seven such attempts. Maurice, a very able general, succeeded to the position of his father.

Netherlands: the independence of the seven northern provinces could be no longer doubtful, and though the war was continued for many years, under Parma first and Spinola afterwards, yet the resources of Spain were not a match for the resolution of the Dutch, and at last, by the truce of Philip III, 1609.¹ 1609, their independence was virtually acknowledged by Philip III.¹ It had taken forty-eight years of bloodshed to make Holland a nation, but the qualities engendered by that struggle, added to the natural talent of her sons, soon made her one of the greatest nations, and for a while even acquired her the mastery of the seas. The ten Catholic provinces of the south remained one hundred years under Spain and one hundred years under Austria, eventually becoming a separate nation in the beginning of the nineteenth century (1830). Like Holland, Belgium has progressed far more quickly as an independent nation than as a province of either Spain or Austria.

Last phase of the war.

Truce made with Philip III, 1609.

Subsequent history of the southern provinces.

iii. The Wars of the Huguenots

Whilst Philip was striving to stamp out Protestantism in Holland, France was the scene of constant civil wars fought between Catholics and Huguenots,² as the Protestants in that country were

Death of Henry II of France, 1559.

¹ But their independence was not completely admitted and guaranteed until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

² The origin of the term "Huguenots" is uncertain. Their form of Protestantism was Calvinistic, which explains many of the repressive acts of French statesmen at their expense. Calvin and his followers aimed at bringing all power into the hands of the Church, at establishing, in fact, an absolute theocracy. Such a system was successfully set up in Scotland and the Netherlands, but it could never really gain a permanent footing in any country where conversion was not completely national. The same difficulty arose in Germany, where the Lutherans, owing to their more moderate claims, came less into conflict with the civil power and were more readily tolerated.

called. This period is ushered in by the death of Henry II, son and successor of Francis I. Both of these kings had made efforts to stamp out heresy in France, but their vigorous foreign policy prevented them from giving full attention to domestic affairs. Moreover, Henry II was not such an enemy of heretics but that he could help the Protestant princes of Germany against Charles, thus foreshadowing the policy of Louis XIII in the Thirty Years' War. For even throughout the Reformation epoch political motives blended largely with religious motives in the policy of kings. Philip II of Spain, most Catholic of all Catholic kings, yet allowed his foreign policy to be very largely shaped by political interests. In both his attack upon England and his interference in France he had ulterior political ends.

Not much attention paid to Huguenots until after Henry's death.

The period of religious conflict in France began with the death of Henry II in 1559. Three sons succeeded him in turn: Francis II, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, Charles IX, and Henry III. Their mother, Catherine de Medici, was ever on the watch to dominate her sons and shape their policy, but the Guises were an even more important influence in the state than Catherine. The six brothers Guise had obtained great influence at the court of Francis II, owing to Mary Stuart being their niece, and they remained in France,¹ resolved to strengthen and increase the political influence they had obtained in the short reign of Francis.

Henry's sons, Francis II, 1560; Charles IX, 1560-74; Henry III, 1574-89.

Catherine de Medici uses her influence unscrupulously.

The Guises.

They were strong Catholics, supporters of Philip II and

¹ These brothers were the grandsons of René of Lorraine, who, had he not been disinherited, would have had claims through the Anjou family on the throne of Naples. René represented a younger branch of the French royal line, descended from King John II. René's son, Claude, had come with his six sons to seek his fortune at the French court.

the Papacy, bitterly opposed to any moderate policy or compromise with Protestantism. The greatest nobles of France were jealous of their influence, and indeed it was opposition to the Guises, which largely accounted for the rapid increase of Huguenots in the ranks of the nobility. Amongst these nobles the family of Bourbon was pre-eminent. The Bourbons were near heirs to the French crown: their head, Antony, had married the Queen of Navarre; his brother, the Prince de Condé, for long held the leadership of the Protestant party; and his son, Henry of Navarre, was that Henry IV who brought the wars of religion to a close.

In 1562 Catherine, wishing at once to balance parties to her own satisfaction and to humour the States-General,¹ issued an edict of Toleration which greatly offended the Catholics. It was the first time toleration had been granted, and it brought about the first war. The two parties, however, were evenly matched, and by the peace which followed, the Huguenots retained the privileges which had been granted to them.² The second and third wars (1567-70) if anything improved the position of the Huguenots, who had been well helped by troops from Germany and Holland, and money from Elizabeth. It was after the third war that Charles IX, wishing to take the reins of power and to free himself from his mother's rule, inclined towards the Huguenots and came under the influence of Coligny, the greatest of their generals.

Their great influence and extreme Catholicism.

Their opponents, the Bourbons.

1562. Edict of Toleration causes the first war.

Second and third wars, 1567-70.

Improvement in position of Huguenots.

¹ The ancient Assembly or Parliament of France.

² These privileges included the right of worshipping freely in the open country, in unwallled towns, and in the families of Huguenot nobles. At a later period (1570) the policy was begun of giving the Huguenots special places of refuge, such as La Rochelle.

Alarmed at the course events were taking, Catherine at all hazards determined to regain her influence, and so worked upon the mind of the weak king that he sanctioned, and himself helped to carry out, the brutal massacre of St. Bartholomew. Beginning at Paris, it spread to the provinces, and many thousands of Huguenots of all ages and both sexes were slain. But the massacre defeated its own ends. It aroused the Huguenots that were left to a more heroic resistance: it created a new party of moderates in the state, and a new edict of Toleration had to be issued in the following year.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

It results in a new edict of Toleration.

Henry III on his accession adopted the extreme policy which experience should have shown him to be false. So the fourth war broke out, and ended similarly to the others, with a treaty, by which a large measure of toleration and several fortified towns were secured to the Huguenots. This should have ended the disastrous civil wars which were ruining France, but the evil influence of Philip II prevented it from being a permanent peace. Philip, as the leader of the Catholic counter-Reformation, longed to crush heresy in France, whilst as a Hapsburg he found a disunited France most congenial to Spanish ambition. But two particular considerations stimulated Philip to action.

Accession of Henry III, 1574.

The fourth war ends satisfactorily to the Huguenots by the Treaty of Bergerac, 1576.

Why the civil wars did not end at this point.

First was the fact that Elizabeth had for some years been lending help to the rebellious Netherlanders, and Philip longed to punish her, but was afraid to venture unless continued discord in France should secure the neutrality of that country. It was thus clearly his interest to foment discord in France to the best of his ability.

Interference of Philip in France. His reasons.

Second, the only surviving brother of Henry III, dying in 1584, left Henry of Navarre the heir to the crown of France. But he was a heretic, and should he succeed, France would be lost to Rome and to Philip forever.

Accordingly Philip attracted to himself the discontented elements in France, and in 1585 formed the Catholic League with the Guises and other extreme Catholics. Their object was to extirpate Protestantism in France, and to exclude Henry of Navarre from the throne.

Formation of the Catholic League, 1585.

Policy of the League.

Henry III foolishly threw himself into the hands of the League and cancelled all the edicts of Toleration. The Huguenots of course resisted, and a war ensued, known as the War of the Three Henriess, because Henry III, Henry of Navarre, and

War of the Three Henriess begins, 1585.

Henry of Guise were each in command of independent armies. Elizabeth sent money to help Navarre, while the Swiss and German Protestants sent troops. At last Henry III, finding the League too powerful, took up an independent attitude, but the League gained in popularity, and Henry, left powerless in his own capital, sought refuge in a humiliating flight and in the weak device of assassinating Guise. But he was murdered in his turn, and

Murder of Henry III, 1589.

in 1589 Henry of Navarre claimed to be king of France. He had, however, to fight for his throne against the champions of the League, who provided their own candidate. This was not to Philip's satisfaction, whose hope was now either

Henry of Navarre fights for the throne.

to get the throne for himself or for a Spanish princess—his daughter. Dissensions in the League thus weakened their cause, and the opportune death of Philip's great commander, Farnese, in 1592, reduced their hopes to a low ebb. Henry of

Navarre had already won the great battle of Ivry in 1590, and more of France was supporting him every year. At last he took the momentous step of turning Catholic in order to secure his throne. With a Catholic majority in France he might otherwise have never been accepted by the nation, but this step simplified the problem, and in 1594 he entered his capital in triumph.

Battle of Ivry,
1590.

Henry of Navarre
(Henry IV) be-
comes a Roman
Catholic, 1594.

The religious wars in France were finished; any further Huguenot risings that took place in the seventeenth century were political in aim rather than religious, the efforts of a discontented nobility to loosen the chains with which the crown was binding them down. Henry, though abandoning the Huguenots himself, yet by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, granted them "liberty of conscience and the right of public service in all places where it had been celebrated in 1577".

End of the re-
ligious wars
in France.

Edict of
Nantes, 1598.

This was a wise and statesmanlike measure; it ensured a period of internal rest, during which France could recuperate her shattered energies and prepare to take a more prominent part in European politics. Spain had failed to dominate France as she had failed to conquer England and to retain the Netherlands.

The day of Spain was waning; she was impoverished under the weight of a too mighty empire, and internal decay had set in long before the death of Philip in 1598. As the sixteenth century is the period of Spanish greatness, so may the seventeenth century be summed up in the formula, "the greatness of France".

Beginning of an
era of prosperity
in France.

Before, however, we relate how France supplanted Spain, we must conclude our survey of the Reformation

and its consequences by some notice of the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

iv. The Thirty Years' War

The treaty of 1555 was a most unsatisfactory document, and the chief mistake lay in excluding the Calvinists from the toleration which was granted to Lutherans.

The Treaty of Augsburg unsatisfactory.

The Calvinists increased rapidly in the Rhine provinces, such as the Palatinæ, but they had no strong foothold in Germany: they were hated by Catholics and Lutherans alike. During the last part of the sixteenth century the counter-reformation of the Catholics made great progress:

Increase of the Calvinists in Germany.

Success of the Counter-Reformation.

the awakening of the Papacy, allied to the perfect organization of the Jesuits, brought back many countries to the Church.¹ The Hapsburgs and Maximilian of Bavaria were the most zealous amongst Catholic princes. Maximilian took every opportunity to humble the Protestants, and his behaviour was mainly responsible for the formation of the Protestant League in 1608. It

Formation of Protestant and Catholic Leagues, 1608-09.

consisted entirely of Calvinistic princes, and was met by the formation of a Catholic League under Maximilian in the following year. The two parties were now standing face to face, and a general war seemed inevitable.

A disputed succession to Jülich and Berg nearly precipitated it. On this occasion Henry IV of France arranged to help the German Protestants against their mutual enemy the emperor.

A religious war imminent.

But the death of Henry and the wide-spread desire for

¹ E.g. Poland and portions of Southern Germany, where Protestantism had once gained some foothold. Bohemia was brought back to the Church in the seventeenth century.

peace postponed the war. Peace was maintained for eight years, and then a quarrel between the Emperor Ferdinand and Bohemia brought about a war which became European, and which lasted for thirty years.

Ferdinand, who had become king of Bohemia before he was chosen emperor, withheld the toleration he had promised to the Bohemians, and persecuted the Protestants. The Bohemian nobles took

Origin of the
Thirty Years'
War, 1618.

up arms, beginning the revolt by throwing two unpopular ministers from a window of the town hall in Prague. In the following year they abjured their allegiance to Ferdinand, and, to get the help of the Protestant League, offered the crown to Frederick Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of James I of England. Had Frederick refused,

Frederick Elector
Palatine accepts
crown of Bo-
hemia, 1619.

the Bohemian question might have been settled like any other internal question in the Hapsburg dominions. But with his acceptance of the crown the Bohemian revolt became a general war. His Protestant Union was met by the Catholic Union, which hastened to support Ferdinand, whilst the Spanish king, Philip III, a Hapsburg, agreed to help his cousin. The emperor had the services of a general of great ability named Tilly, who beat the "Winter King",

Tilly defeats
him, 1620.

as Frederick was called, at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. Frederick, insufficiently supported by his allies, was driven from Bohemia, and even lost the Palatinate. His electoral dignity being handed over to Maximilian, the Catholics obtained a majority in the Electoral College,¹ and Ferdinand suppressed Protestantism in Bohemia with the utmost rigour. Had more moderation

Frederick driven
from Bohemia
and the Palati-
nate, 1620-23.

¹ The Electoral College was the highest of the three chambers in the Imperial Diet (assembly). It consisted at this time of seven prince electors, with whom the election of the Holy Roman Emperor rested. Before the empire was abolished in 1806, the number had been brought up to ten.

been shown by the victors, the war might have been ended at this point, but their excessive measures startled the Lutheran princes of Northern Germany, and only served to extend the area of the war. The princes feared not only for their religion but also for their independence, and a strong empire under the Hapsburgs would interfere with both.

The second period of the war began in 1626. The help of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden was invited, but

**Intervention of
Christian IV of
Denmark, 1626.**

it was found impossible to agree upon terms. James of England and Christian of Denmark, however, volunteered to aid,

but the help they sent was meagre, and the Catholics were as victorious in North Germany as they had been in Bohemia six years before. Besides Tilly, the emperor

**Wallenstein
enters the em-
peror's service.**

had now the services of Count Wallenstein, the most remarkable figure of the "Thirty Years' War. Half warrior, half political

dreamer, he aspired to restore Catholicism in Germany, but above all to unify the country under the emperor and himself, and to make this possible by driving out all foreign influences from the Fatherland. Master of

**Conquests of
Wallenstein.**

Northern Germany, he besieged Stralsund, the chief port in the Baltic, the capture of which would have excluded Denmark and Sweden from further interference. He swore to take it even if it

**He fails to take
Stralsund.**

were tied by chains to heaven; but the undaunted citizens were supported by a small force of Swedes and Scots, and the town resisted

**Peace of Lü-
beck, 1629.**

all attempts at capture. Still, the Treaty of Lübeck in 1629 was a distinct triumph for the

**Edict of
Restitution.**

Imperial cause. But it was marred by the extravagance of the Edict of Restitution, which ordered the restoration to the Church of all lands which had fallen into Protestant hands since the Treaty of Augsburg.

• And now we enter upon the third and most interesting phase of the war. It was ushered in by the arrival in Germany of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the Lion of the North. ^{It encourages foreign interference.} As after the defeat of Frederick Ferdinand's high-handed measures had extended and prolonged the war, so now by the Edict of Restitution such discontent was aroused amongst the Protestant princes, ^{Gustavus Adolphus} that Sweden and France were encouraged to interfere in Germany. Richelieu did not yet enter openly into the conflict in Germany, although French troops had been already ranged against the Spaniards in North Italy. But Gustavus, who had learnt the art of war in numerous campaigns against Denmark, Poland, and Russia, determined to come himself with a Swedish army and face the Imperialist generals. In invading Germany he had a double object ^{His reasons for taking part in the war.} in view—to help the Protestants, and to obtain a footing in North Germany, indispensable for his supremacy in the Baltic. The lesser Protestant princes hastened to make common cause with Gustavus, but it was with the greatest difficulty that he persuaded the more important princes—the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg¹—to abandon their neutrality. Having at last persuaded them to act, he moved south to encounter Tilly, fresh from the siege of Magdeburg, which had been sacked with atrocious cruelty. Gustavus, with an army of Swedes and Saxons, met and defeated Tilly at the battle of Breitenfeld ^{Battle of Leipzig, 1631.} or Leipzig, which shattered the supremacy of the Catholic League. The emperor was rudely

¹ John George of Saxony and George William of Brandenburg-Prussia would have been only too glad to remain loyal to the emperor—but neutral—had Ferdinand seen his way to withdraw the Edict of Restitution. Patriotic feeling in Germany was against Gustavus, for all patriotism was not yet dead.

awakened to the fact that the "Snow King" whom he
 Victorious career of Gustavus. had sneered at, was a foe worthy of his
 greatest generals. After Breitenfeld, Gustavus marched victoriously to the Rhine,
 Death of Tilly. where the ecclesiastical principalities fell
 into his hands, and Bavaria was subdued. Tilly was
 defeated and slain, but Wallenstein, dis-
 missed two years before by Ferdinand, was
 Wallenstein resumes his command. brought out from his retirement, and ad-
 vanced to meet the Swedish king at Lützen. There
 Gustavus killed a great battle was fought, in which the
 at Lützen, 1632. Swedes were victorious, although their
 king, rashly venturing unarmed into the fight, was
 killed.

During the minority of Queen Christina, Gustavus' daughter, the Swedish chancellor, Oxenstiern, under-
 took the management of affairs, and formed
 League of Heilbron, 1633. the Protestant League of Heilbron, under
 the protection of France. With Gustavus' death the
 Death of Wallenstein and Battle of Nordlingen, 1634. fortunes of the Imperialists enjoyed a
 temporary revival. Wallenstein, hated
 by the emperor, dreaded by the Catholic
 princes, was murdered, but notwithstanding, the League
 of Heilbron sustained a great defeat at Nordlingen in
 1634. This battle won back Southern Ger-
 Treaty of Prague, 1635. many for the Imperialists, and was followed
 by the Treaty of Prague, satisfactory only to the
 Lutheran princes.¹

Whether there remained sufficient energy in Ger-
 many to continue the war is doubtful,
 Fourth phase of the war. Open interference of France, 1635-43. but the action of France rendered its con-
 tinuance inevitable. Richelieu was bent
 on seizing this opportunity to further weaken the House

¹ "Lutheranism was still to remain the only privileged form of Protestantism", and no security was yet provided for the Calvinists.

of Hapsburg, and by bringing France openly into the war in 1635 he revived, in all its intensity the long duel between his country and the Hapsburgs of Spain and Austria. From this point the war ceased to be German, and its motive ceased to be religious.

The Swedes went on fighting in North Germany, and their tenacity was rewarded at the end of the war, whilst the French struggled to conquer Alsace, ^{Fighting on the Rhine.} from the Spanish-Imperialist armies. Though

for some years unsuccessful, French generalship at last triumphed. The masterly strategy of Turenne, added to the tactical ability of Condé, broke the Spanish power at Rocroi, overran Alsace, ^{French defeat Spaniards at Rocroi, 1643.} detached Maximilian of Bavaria from the

emperor, and at last forced the Catholics to sign the disastrous Treaty of Westphalia. Spain, however, continued fighting, and did not make peace ^{Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.} until ten years later. Richelieu had died

in 1642, but his policy was ably carried on by Mazarin, and the Peace of Westphalia inaugurated that period of French aggrandizement which reached its culmination in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

The main provisions and results of the treaty were as follows:

(1) It solved the religious difficulty by recognizing accomplished facts, and by acknowledging the right of all to keep what the sword had won. Thus ^{Its main provisions.} Calvinism was admitted to an equal position with Lutheranism, but the princes of the empire were still allowed to impose what religion they liked upon their subjects.

(2) It marked the disintegration of the empire by

¹ This apparently illiberal condition seldom caused trouble in practice, as it was found most difficult for any prince to support a religion other than that of his people.

virtually recognizing the sovereignty of the princes. The central authority was henceforth weaker than ever, and the policy of the emperors steadily became more Austrian and less German.

(3) Brandenburg-Prussia gained several territories, chief of which were Magdeburg and Eastern Pomerania.¹

(4) Bavaria and Saxony acquired considerable accessions of territory.

(5) Sweden received Western Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which secured to her the supremacy of the Baltic. But her greatness was short-lived. Within a century it yielded to the growing power of Russia and of Prussia.

(6) France obtained Austrian Alsace, besides the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in absolute sovereignty. She had at last reached the Rhine, and had obtained a scientific frontier equally useful for defence and offence.

(7) The independence of Holland and of Switzerland was acknowledged.

The Peace was absolutely necessary to Germany, rendered desolate by the Thirty Years' War, and on the whole its provisions displayed both fairness and wisdom. It ended the last of the great religious wars, and it marked the beginning of a period of greedy territorial aggrandizement. It is the great landmark of the seventeenth century as the Treaty of Utrecht is of the eighteenth, or the Congress of Vienna of the nineteenth, and that the Treaty

Equitable
character of
the Peace.

¹ Pomerania had been ruled by a duke, who died childless in 1637. Brandenburg then claimed the duchy, but as the Swedes had occupied it during the war a division of the duchy between the two powers seemed the most equitable arrangement.

² Saxony got Lusatia, which had of late belonged to the King of Bohemia. Ferdinand therefore presented Saxony with this province. Bavaria obtained the Upper Palatinate. (See Map.)

of Westphalia was the wisest and most equitable of the three, after-events have proved. For its provisions were not reversed in so many important particulars, nor were they productive of such long dispute as, for instance, were those of the Congress of Vienna. This must largely have been due to its reasonable moderation, to the fact that it made no violent changes or unnatural unions, but adopted in the main the *faits accomplis* of the war.

CHAPTER IX

THE ASCENDENCY OF FRANCE

i. From the End of the Religious Wars to the death of Louis XIII

Henry of Navarre only reigned as undisputed king of France for fifteen years, but during that time he accomplished much. With the help of his great minister Sully he purged every branch of ^{Henry IV and his reforms} the administration, reformed the finances, and paid off the greater portion of the public debt. By improving agriculture, and encouraging industries he launched France on that career of prosperity which enabled her to take the greatest part in the world's politics. Without the reconstructive work of Henry, Richelieu would have been unable to devote himself so largely to foreign policy, or Louis XIV. to undertake such vast schemes of continental conquest. In his foreign policy Henry played the same part as the greatest of his predecessors and successors, by opposing the House of Hapsburg. But when on the eve of a war with the emperor he was assassinated, in 1610, and Mary de Medici, his second wife, became regent for his young son, Louis XIII. She

tried to reverse her husband's policy, both at home and abroad, so that had it not been for Richelieu, who soon got all the power into his hands Henry's work would have been undone. Richelieu was a bishop, and afterwards a cardinal. Clever, pitiless, unscrupulous, he marched through all obstacles to his goal, which was the strengthening of the crown in France, and the supremacy of that crown abroad.

We have said¹ that Henry of Navarre brought France religious peace, but it cannot be said that the Edict of

Edict of Nantes
unsatisfactory. Nantes was an entirely satisfactory settlement. In that it granted toleration to the

Huguenots it was wise, but the principle of giving them towns independent of the French crown was a principle subversive of authority. Associated as Protestantism was with aristocratic ambitions, such privileges were

Huguenot risings
in 17th century. almost certain to be abused. A number of Huguenot risings took place during the

first thirty years of the seventeenth century, for the nobles had adopted Protestantism in order to win their independence and satisfy their separatist traditions.

Fortunately, Richelieu saw the need of pitiless severity, and had both strength and courage to act. In his own words, "the Huguenots shared the government of France with the king", and France, he felt, could never become great until all her forces were united absolutely in the hands of the king. A great rising in 1625

Richelieu puts
down the
Huguenots and
the nobles. was successfully put down, and in the following year Richelieu issued an edict against

duelling, and one for the destruction of all private castles not situated on the frontiers of France. This blow at their cherished privileges stimulated the nobles to resistance, and a conspiracy was formed to assassinate

Richelieu and depose the king. Its discovery provoked reprisals from the cardinal, and by execution and banishment he rid himself of his most formidable enemies at one blow.

In 1627 Buckingham¹ with an English fleet appeared before La Rochelle, the great Huguenot stronghold in the west, and this encouraged the Huguenots to rise again. Richelieu, however, came himself

Siege of
La Rochelle,
1627-28.

and conducted the siege of La Rochelle in the most masterful way, building a gigantic mole across the harbour until he had the city in his hands. Its fortifications were demolished, and its citizens lost all vestige of independent authority, but they were allowed to retain their liberty of conscience. In 1629 the rebellion was crushed out in the south by the

Peace of
Alais, 1629.

king in person, and by the Peace of Alais the Huguenots ceased to retain any political power in France.

Their liberty of worship alone remained, and that too they lost sixty years later. While strongly disapproving of Louis XIV's policy in 1685—the policy of re-

Revocation of
Edict of
Nantes, 1685.

voking Henry's Edict of toleration, we cannot but think that the Peace of Alais took away from the Huguenots privileges

they should never have had. Their rights of independence had been always associated with sedition, and time after time they had allied themselves with the enemies of their country. Their patriotism was so questionable that their loss of political power proved of immense benefit to France. Henceforth they were a harmless religious sect, whose industry and skill contributed considerably to the prosperity of the country in the days of

¹ George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was a spoilt favourite of James I and Charles I of England. He was unsound as a politician, and came into conflict with the Parliament. In the French war he showed himself an incompetent commander. He was murdered in 1628.

Louis XIV. Richelieu put down every other rising of the nobility as truthlessly as he had thwarted their attempts to make political capital out of Protestantism. He was intensely hated by them, he himself, his policy, and his ambition; but he was so astute that no conspiracy remained undiscovered, and so strong that no rebellion remained unsubdued.

Let us now briefly notice the administrative reforms of Richelieu, and see how they all subserved his centralizing policy. His main object being to curtail the

Richelieu's administration and reforms.

powers and privileges of the feudal nobility,

he established a civil service under the direct control of the crown, and attempted to withdraw the command of the army from the nobles by organizing it—especially the infantry—on a professional basis. Further, he promoted “new men” and appointed them as royal governors of the provinces, styling them In-

Centralizing tendencies.

tendants. The hereditary noble governors

were forced to commit all real power to the hands of these intendants, and became a merely ornamental part of the government machine. Finally, Richelieu laid the foundation of the French navy, and as Colbert after him devoted great attention to it, France in the latter part of the seventeenth century became a considerable naval power. All this was good, durable work, calculated to strengthen the crown immensely,

His system of government not liberal or progressive.

whilst reducing the elements of disorder to a minimum. Richelieu had provided an administration that would survive him, and

had rendered a return to the old anarchy difficult, if not impossible. It was perhaps a pity that he made no attempts to give the people political liberty, for in a state where the crown was everything, a series of weak or wicked kings could easily wreck the commonwealth and bring about a colossal revolution. Probably, how-

ever, France was not ready for such political liberty:¹ the elements of order were not sufficiently robust or enlightened to receive it, and the nobles would have used it only to further their selfish interests. In France, unlike England, nobles and people could not really act in unison, so the crown seemed the only stable factor in the state, and the only fit receptacle of power.

In his foreign policy Richelieu strove to realize the ambitions of Henry IV, to wrest from the House of Hapsburg the headship of Europe, His foreign policy. and more particularly to round off the boundaries of France in the east and south. He clearly distinguished the possible from the impossible; he pointed out to Louis how easily it would be to help the Protestant princes in Germany against Austria, and to obtain as a compensation all that they held beyond the west bank of the Rhine. The Rhine frontier. In a memoir addressed to Louis XIII he says: "It seemed that the advantage to the king would be great from adopting this scheme, and the peril small. He would extend his realm to the Rhine without striking a blow." The Thirty Years War gave the opportunity Richelieu sought. By skilful intrigues before, by open interference after, 1632, he entered into the war on the opposite side to Austria and Spain, thus changing its character so completely, that what had begun as the greatest religious struggle since Luther, became another act France's part in the Thirty Years' War. in the dramatic duel between France and the House of Hapsburg. The gains of France in this war we have noticed above² in a résumé of the Treaty of Westphalia,

¹ The States-General, which corresponded in some respects to the English Parliament, had frequently showed its unfitness for constitutional responsibility. It consisted of three orders—nobles, clergy, and commonalty—but these orders spent their time in mutual quarrels and recriminations instead of uniting to remedy real grievances. Yet the French kings felt that it might become dangerous to the power of the crown, and from the year 1614 until 1789 the States-General was never summoned.

² Cf. Chapter viii, p. 144.

which though actually signed six years after Richelieu's death, yet brought to France the fruit of her great statesman's policy. France had pushed her frontier to the Rhine,¹ and had definitely begun that policy of territorial aggrandizement which in the reign of Louis XIV so terrified the monarchs of Europe. Opposition to the Hapsburgs was also carried on in Italy, the old battle-field of Valois and Hapsburg. There Richelieu successfully foiled several ambitious schemes of Austria and Spain. The great minister is credited with having written in his will the following words: "The end of

1642. Death
of Richelieu.

my ministry has been to render to Gaul the frontiers that Nature has destined to her, to give to Gaul a Gallic king, to confuse Gaul with France, and throughout to establish a new Gaul where ancient

1643. Death of
Louis XIII.

Gaul was". Richelieu died in 1642, and his master died the following year, leaving the crown to his four-year-old son, Louis XIV.

ii. From the Accession of Louis XIV to the Peace of Ryswick

Anne of Austria, widow of the dead king, assumed the regency, and chose Mazarin, a clever Italian, to succeed Richelieu as chief minister. He had, indeed, been marked out by Richelieu as his successor, and he carried on the same policy of monarchical centralization and territorial aggrandizement. He steered France through the last phase of the Thirty Years' War and brought her solid gains in the Treaty of Westphalia, but his home administration, though in aim it was that of Richelieu, was in character far more oppressive besides

Louis XIV,
1643-1715.

Cardinal
Mazarin.

His policy.

¹Or rather had obtained in Alsace, a province on the Rhine. France did not stretch uninterruptedly to the Rhine, for Franche Comté and Lorraine were not yet in her hands. (Cf. map illustrating Treaty of Westphalia.)

being hopelessly corrupt. He was hated as prime minister, but he was still more hated as a foreigner, and as the supposed lover of the Queen Regent, another foreigner. This hatred culminated in the outbreak of the Fronde, which, though in its origin a constitutional movement, soon narrowed itself down to a struggle between the nobility and the crown, with the double object of diminishing the royal power and overthrowing an unpopular minister. But this civil war resulted, after four years, in the triumph of the crown; and henceforth there was little concerted opposition to the royal will until the Revolution.

The Fronde,
1648-52.

In 1658 the war with Spain, which had outlived the Treaty of Westphalia ten years, was concluded, greatly to the advantage of France. Oliver Cromwell had dragged England into the war on the side of France, and our country thus contributed to the further decline of Spain, and the dangerous rise of France.¹

Peace of the
Pyrenees, 1658.

In 1661 Louis XIV himself assumed the reins of power. Like Philip II of Spain, and like Frederick the Great, he was determined to rule himself, and to be his own prime minister. *L'état c'est moi* was the ruling axiom of his life. An untiring worker, of considerable capacity and perfect *savoir faire*, he yet lacked originality and those other qualities of higher statesmanship which Henry of Navarre and Richelieu had had. But in the art of kingship Louis excelled all sovereigns before and since. He was a perfect actor, his kingly qualities and social graces were unquestioned, and his title "Le Grand Monarque" expresses alike the opinion of his contemporaries and the verdict of history. For the greater portion of his long reign he was beloved and

Character
and qualities
of Louis XIV.

¹ Dunkirk was obtained by Britain as the fruit of her intercession, but a few years later Charles II sold it to the French king.

revered in France just as Philip II was adored in Spain, yet both kings brought incalculable disaster to their country. Louis' resolve to admit of no rival in the state produced the usual result: a dearth of statesmen. After he had exhausted the number of the men of genius provided by the age of Richelieu, he yielded more and more to the dictates of a vast ambition, and before ending his reign of seventy-two years he had brought France very nearly to the brink of ruin.

From 1661 to 1671 was the most prosperous period of his reign. Colbert,¹ the great financier, succeeded in placing France in a position of financial stability more complete than that attained even by Sully. He developed resources by encouraging manufactures, by making roads and canals, and by abolishing internal dues. The taxable capacity of the country was thus multiplied, and the increased prosperity would benefit people and government alike. Further, he planted colonies and gave much thought to the navy, aiming to make the naval strength of France superior to that of both England and Holland. France now had before her the possibility of commercial and colonial greatness, but Louis voluntarily abandoned such prospects, and chose instead a policy of European aggrandizement, which, though it promised perhaps a greater glory, certainly offered less substantial gain.

Louis' first great war began in 1667. It was fought to gain possession of the Spanish Netherlands, which he claimed through his wife, the eldest daughter of the late Philip IV of Spain. But Philip had a son by a second wife, and Louis, before

War of Devolution,
1667-68.

¹ Colbert came nearer to being chief minister than any other man after Louis came of age. He was technically the Controller-General of Finance, and such a position involved control, either direct or indirect, over most departments of state, except foreign policy, which was managed under Louis' own supervision by the cautious and trusty Lionne.

his marriage to the Spanish princess, had made a solemn renunciation of all rights which might pass to him through her. Therefore he had no valid argument to support his claim, and relied upon the superiority of his armed forces to conquer the coveted provinces.

It was at this moment that a most extraordinary and unforeseen event happened. England formed with Holland and Sweden a Triple Alliance against Louis. To explain why this event was unforeseen we must digress slightly from the narrative and examine into the position which England held then in European politics.

*The Triple Alliance,
1668.*

As mentioned above,¹ Oliver Cromwell had helped France to humiliate Spain, and to extort from her the disastrous Peace of the Pyrenees. In 1660

*Why England
joined the Triple
Alliance.*

the restoration of the Stuart dynasty took place, and Charles II soon renewed the dynastic foreign policy of his father. Its main feature was close alliance with France, whose royal house was allied to the Stuarts by marriage. Cromwell had supported France

*Foreign policy of
the Stuarts.*

with the full weight of a great power, and had France become too powerful he would assuredly have fought against her instead of with her. But Charles consistently followed the lead of Louis, whether it was to England's advantage and glory, or to her loss and shame. Without the prestige and military force of the Protectorate, England was doomed to play a very subordinate part as the ally of France, though the mere fact that England was a maritime power made her friendship indispensable to Louis. This foreign policy, connected as it was with the attempts of Charles to govern unconstitutionally by the pecuniary assistance of Louis, incurred the bitter odium of all patriotic Englishmen. It was not until the

Revolution in 1688 that this narrow dynastic policy was replaced by a wider national one, and then it was that the execution of such a national policy by William III, Louis' greatest foe, sealed the fate of the French king's ambitions.

It is because Charles' policy was so resolutely dynastic and his sympathies so French that the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1668 was such an unforeseen event. It was a foretaste of the political grouping which took place twenty years later, when England's rulers had finally realized that her interests lay in an alliance with the other maritime powers against the would-be master of Europe. Its success was immediate. Louis knew

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668.

how to distinguish the impossible from the possible, and in the same year he signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which he contented himself with a number of border fortresses lying along the frontier between Dunkirk and Charleroi. But Louis was determined to be revenged upon the Dutch for daring to oppose him. Holland, youngest of the European nations, had been the soul of the Triple Alliance, and the pride of the upstart must be lowered.

In 1670 Louis detached England from the Triple Alliance, binding Charles again to himself firmly by the

Treaty of Dover, 1670.

Treaty of Dover. Sweden also abjured the alliance. Many princes in Germany promised either to aid or remain neutral, and in 1672 Louis began a war of pure aggression, attacking Holland without cause or pretext. Nearly two

The Dutch War, 1672-78.

hundred thousand men were massed together under Condé¹ and Turenne,² and in six weeks'

¹ Louis Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1621-86), had won the battle of Rocroi (1643), distinguished himself in Germany at the end of the Thirty Years' War, fought against Mazarin in the Fronde, and had served for some time in the Spanish army. After this Dutch war he retired, and became a great patron of literature.

² The Viscount de Turenne (1611-75) was the greatest French soldier of the century. He was a Protestant, and related to the House of Orange. He learnt the art of war

time from the opening of the war Turenne's masterly strategy had brought Louis within striking distance of the capital. But the king paused when he had victory in his hand. The Dutch had time to cut their dykes, and the province of Holland soon resembled a sea dotted with island towns. The tactics which had defeated Philip II's generals thwarted Louis now, for the Dutch made good use of the respite which had been so unexpectedly given them. Having murdered the unwarlike Grand Pensionary¹ of the state, they chose William of Orange, grandson of William the Silent, to be their stadtholder and general. He was in every sense a "chip of the old block", and when asked what was to be done in the face of Louis' forces, he grimly answered, "We must die in the last ditch!" He infected the people with something of his spirit, and organized a European coalition against Louis so powerful, that in 1674, England having deserted Louis, Sweden and France found themselves fighting against almost the whole of Europe. The struggle was too unequal to be maintained. Turenne's brilliant winter campaign in the Rhine country in 1674-75 was followed by his death, and he was France's last hope. The war was ended by the Treaty of Nimwegen in 1678, made between Louis, the Dutch, Spain, and the emperor. Holland lost absolutely nothing, but Franche Comté, which had been occupied by French armies in each of

Treaty of Nim-
wegen, 1678.

by serving in the Dutch revolt against Spain. Afterwards he distinguished himself in the Thirty Years' War, the Fronde, and the Franco-Spanish War, which was brought to an end in 1658. In the Dutch war of 1672-78 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces, but lost his life in 1675.

¹ De Witt had been the champion of the Republican party in Holland, and had ruled as president with singular ability for more than twenty years. But he remained curiously blind to the danger he should have apprehended from France, and from jealousy and fear of the Orange party he neglected to strengthen the army sufficiently. Hence the nation awoke to feel itself betrayed, and De Witt fell as the victim of popular vengeance. As once before, a time of real danger brought the House of Orange to the front, and the Republican party suffered a period of eclipse.

her recent wars, was now formally handed over by Spain to Louis. Moreover, Spain had to surrender all the important frontier towns of the Spanish Netherlands which had not been given to Louis by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. France also virtually obtained the duchy of Lorraine. The Peace of Nimwegen marks the limit of Louis' greatness. Holland had by her tenacity preserved the balance of power, and Europe, now fully alive to the alarming nature of Louis' ambitions, was ready at any provocation to combine against the common danger. Above all, Louis found that he had in William of Orange an ever-watchful foe, who was both a great leader of men and a consummate diplomatist. If Louis could act with self-restraint he might die with undiminished glory; but should he give the rein to his ambition, the events of the Dutch war were only too likely to be repeated.

Unfortunately for him, he had lost his early caution, and by the year 1683 he was without the services of both those trusty advisers, Colbert and Lionne, to whose guidance in earlier years he had owed so much.

Louis' rash and violent acts provoke a new coalition.

It was not long before a series of rash acts involved him in another war against another European coalition. By the Treaty

of Westphalia the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were to be surrendered to France with their "dependencies". Louis appointed tribunals of legal men to specify these "dependencies", and they adjudged to France all Alsace,² the duchy of Zweibrücken, and even the great city of Strasbourg.

"Chambers of Reunion."

By occupying Zweibrücken Louis alienated Sweden, whose king had a claim to the duchy, and by occupying

¹ Colbert died in 1683, Lionne some years earlier.

² Only a portion of Alsace had been surrendered to France in 1648. Cf. Chapter viii, p. 144.

Strasbourg he alarmed all Germany. Diplomacy had given way to violence, and Louis lost his allies one by one. Continued quarrels with the Pope, and alliance with the Turks, who were now threatening Western Europe, alienated all zealous Catholics, while his persecution of the Huguenots in France deprived him of the sympathy and support of every Protestant people. Forcible conversions were followed by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the suppression of religious liberty in France acted as a threat to all who feared the aggressive policy of Louis. These blunders gradually forced his enemies into combination, and at last the League of Augsburg was formed to oppose the domineering policy of France, and to maintain the balance of power. The League consisted of the emperor, Spain, Sweden, Holland, and the princes of North Germany, whilst Bavaria and Saxony and the more important Italian princes joined it in the following year.

Revocation of
Edict of Nantes,
1685.

Formation of the
League of Augs-
burg, 1686.

Its members.

For ten years ceaseless efforts had been made to improve the army and navy of France, and Louvois,¹ the great war minister, had succeeded in giving his country a perfect equipment for war both by land and sea. Still, with all the Continent ranged against him, Louis hoped at least to retain the alliance of England, whose fleets might just turn the scale on one side or the other. But James II, who had succeeded to the throne, was not as obedient as his brother Charles had been; he was not content to be the satellite of France, just as he was not content to be a constitutional king. A quarrel with Louis seemed

Importance of
the English
Revolution,
1688-89.

¹ The Marquis de Louvois (1641-1691), an able minister whose power had increased after Colbert's death. He is notorious for his cruelty to the Huguenots at the time of the Revocation.

to promise to the allies the neutrality of England, but the Revolution of 1688 did more: it brought the force of England actively on the side of the League. James was driven from the kingdom, and his nephew, William of Orange, received the throne. William was the head and soul of the League, therefore his accession to the throne of England was the most favourable event which could occur for the enemies of Louis, and the most sinister for that king himself.

Louis now had not a single ally. Yet he fought doggedly for ten years against the League, gaining and losing battles both by land and sea. A serious attempt was made to reinstate the exiled James by means of an invasion of Ireland, where such a staunch Roman Catholic as he was sure of strong support. But in spite of the great naval victory of Beachy Head (1690) the operations failed, and the defeat of the French navy off La Hogue (1692) put an end to all dreams of invasion, and gave to

War of the
League of
Augsburg.

Peace of
Ryswick, 1697.

England maritime superiority. The multitude of his enemies and the pertinacity of William, added to the dearth of genius in France herself, brought Louis to his knees, and with famine staring him in the face he signed in 1697 the Peace of Ryswick. He sur-

The Barrier
Treaty.

rendered all acquisitions made since the Treaty of Nimwegen, and agreed to what is known as the Barrier Treaty, by which the Dutch were to garrison the frontier fortresses in the Netherlands.¹

¹ These were the frontier towns between France and the Spanish Netherlands which had been acquired by Louis in 1668 and 1678. The Dutch were to garrison them as a security against invasion. Cf. note, p. 168.

iii. The War of the Spanish Succession

The blow which the power and prestige of Louis suffered by the Barrier Treaty and the Peace of Ryswick should have induced him to follow a peaceful policy for the remainder of his days, but within four years his overweening ambition had again dragged him into war.

This time the failure of the Spanish Hapsburgs to produce an heir was the cause of strife, for it led by regular steps to the great war of the Spanish succession. This question of the succession in Spain will now merit our careful attention.

The Question of the Spanish Succession.

The childless Charles II. of Spain had had two sisters, who had married respectively Louis XIV and the Emperor Leopold. Louis had on his marriage renounced for himself and descendants all claims on Spain which might come to him through his wife. Leopold had only one child by his Spanish marriage; her he married to the Elector of Bavaria, causing her to renounce all rights to the Spanish inheritance. Her son Joseph, Leopold's grandson, therefore had as little right as any grandson of Louis to the Spanish crown; for the right both had by descent was invalidated by solemn renunciation. Leopold, however, was himself the son of a Spanish princess, one of the daughters of Philip III, and she had made no renunciation, though her elder sister on marrying Louis XIII had renounced all claims. By descent, therefore, and by international law Leopold claimed to be the rightful heir of Charles II, but knowing that Europe would never tolerate a revival of the Empire of Charles V, he passed on his rights to his second son, the Archduke Charles. Louis meanwhile had little intention of keeping his solemn promise to abandon all claims by

his wife, and he pleaded that the non-payment of her dower absolved him from his promise. But he, like Leopold, saw the impracticability of claiming anything in his own person, and therefore passed his rights over to his grandson Philip, the Dauphin's second son. Moreover, he knew that even his grandson would not be allowed to accept the undivided Spanish Empire, and so as long ago as 1668 he had made with Leopold a secret treaty of partition to be executed in the event of Charles dying childless. During the intervening years, however, the political conditions so changed, that by the end of the century the balance of power was determined by the maritime states of England and Holland. William had it in his power to do Louis greater damage than any other sovereign, and any action concerning the Spanish inheritance would have to obtain William's sanction. The maritime powers would never allow the undue ascendancy of France, and so in 1698 Louis began a long and complicated series of negotiations with England and Holland to regulate the Spanish question, and to ascertain how much France would be allowed to profit by the approaching death of Charles II.

The First Partition Treaty was drawn up in this year. It gave the greater part of the Spanish inheritance to the Electoral prince, Leopold's grandson; but the Archduke Charles, Leopold's second son, and Philip of Anjou, Louis' grandson, each obtained substantial portions.¹ This treaty was accepted by Charles II. of Spain, but the death of the Electoral prince within a few months made a new settlement necessary, and the negotiations were begun afresh. William would not agree to give Philip any considerable

¹ The secret treaty of 1668 is not generally known as the First Partition Treaty, which name is reserved for the first treaty signed between Louis and William, as we have made clear. That of 1668 therefore stands apart, and is of small importance; the two partition treaties of 1698 and 1700 are the really important ones.

increase, and the Archduke Charles was nominated as the heir to the Spanish crown and most of its foreign possessions.¹ Though the portion to be set apart for Philip was small, yet by including Naples and Sicily it would immensely increase the power of France. Leopold, on his part, so far from being grateful for unexpected favours, was indignant at not being consulted during the negotiations, and would not hear of his son being deprived of any part of the inheritance. The Second Partition Treaty seemed destined either to remain a dead-letter or to cause war, when the action of Charles II himself hurried matters to a climax. The dying king, his fears worked upon by his father confessor, made a will appointing Philip of Anjou heir of all his dominions, and the Spanish people, rather than submit to the division of their great empire, approved the will. Louis, after a period of sincere hesitation, broke faith with William, threw aside the Partition Treaty, and accepted for his grandson the glorious heritage, exclaiming with pardonable pride, "there are henceforth no Pyrenees".

Second Partition Treaty, 1700.

Death of Charles II of Spain, 1700.

His will

Considering that the wishes of the Spaniards had a right to be heard, Louis' crime has perhaps been unduly exaggerated, and considering the attitude of other states, the risk he ran has also been exaggerated. The will was less un-

Philip of Anjou becomes King of Spain.

¹ The exact concessions to France in the two treaties were as follows:—1st Treaty—(a) Naples and Sicily to Philip; (b) Guipuscoa in Northern Spain to France. 2nd Treaty—(a) Naples and Sicily to Philip; (b) the Milanese and Guipuscoa to France. As, of course, the price of Louis had risen, Charles being more of a rival than the defunct Electoral prince, it was suggested that the Milanese might be exchanged for Lorraine, which was situated more advantageously for France. Lorraine had been virtually annexed by Louis some time before, and he had retained it at the Treaty of Nimwegen in 1678. It was, however, returned to its ducal house at the Peace of Ryswick. Seeing that this Partition Treaty did not take effect, Louis did not get back Lorraine. But his successor obtained it after the Polish Succession War of 1735.

popular in England and Holland than the last partition treaty. William, his policy bitterly opposed by the English and Dutch, had to recognize Philip as king of Spain, and so long as he kept quiet, the sluggish emperor was little likely to move. The danger of war, then, was small, and the advantages of accepting the will were, as

Aggressive acts of Louis. regards France and Spain, the two countries most concerned, incontestable. Some

excuse must therefore be made for Louis' acceptance of the will, but none can be given for the series of rash acts which followed, and which provoked a great war. Louis in his infatuation expelled the Dutch troops from the Barrier fortresses, refused to grant the emperor any compensation from the Spanish dominions, and what

Formation of the Grand Alliance, 1701-02.

especially roused England, he recognized James II's son as king of England in defiance of solemn promises made to William. The result was the Grand Alliance of European princes, and that war which, taking its excuse from the succession of Philip, was called the Spanish Succession War. The members of the alliance were the Emperor, the Electors of Brandenburg, the Palatinate and Hanover, Holland, England, and some of the minor princes of Germany. A year later Savoy and Portugal deserted Louis and entered the Grand Alliance. The defection of Savoy much weakened the French position in Italy, and Portugal was able to add considerably to the maritime strength of the allies.

The allies aimed at breaking the might of Louis, at dividing the vast Spanish inheritance between Philip, the Hapsburgs, and the maritime powers, and at restoring the Barrier Treaty.¹ Philip was but to have a small portion of the vast Spanish in-

Aims of the Allies.

¹ I.e. France was not to retain the Netherlands. Possibly England and Holland might obtain some spoils in the New World.

heritance, whilst the Archduke Charles, as in the Second Partition Treaty, was to receive the throne of Spain.¹ To make good these aims a war was waged which lasted for thirteen years, and its operations extended over Italy, Spain, Southern Germany, and the Netherlands.

To face the formidable confederation which was bent on his destruction, Louis had but one ally, the Elector of Bavaria. He had the advantage of unity, a central position, and a quantity of devoted and highly disciplined troops.

Strength and
chances of the
combatants.

On their side the allies, though numerous, were hopelessly divided; the emperor was old, penniless, and inactive, whilst William of Orange, Louis' most formidable enemy, had died before the alliance of his construction had taken up the sword. Louis had two able generals at his disposal, Villars and Berwick,² but the rest were no match for Marlborough and Prince Eugène, who commanded the allied armies.

The first years of the war were noticeably devoid of striking events, but steady progress was made by the allies in different quarters. Marlborough, commander-in-chief in the Netherlands, gained a footing on the Rhine, and cleared the French out of the north-west corner of the Netherlands, while Eugène was greatly successful in North Italy, and England was establishing her maritime superiority in the Mediterranean.

1704 was a most important year. In Spain the English fleet scored an important success by the capture of Gibraltar, and in Germany the French plan of striking at Vienna was completely foiled by the genius of Marlborough. A combined French

Operations
in 1704.

¹ The allies, in fact, aimed at carrying out the Second Partition Treaty in its main lines. Although in the end they were unable to place Charles on the Spanish throne, yet they did break the might of Louis and prevent the union of France and Spain.

² The Duke of Berwick, more commonly known as Marshal Berwick, was a natural son of James II of England, and after the exile of his father he took service with the king of France. It was he who won the battle of Almanza in 1707.

attack was threatening the weak emperor, when Marlborough, by a long and difficult forced march across Germany, suddenly arrived on the 'Danube' and, joining Eugène, stood at Blenheim to fight the advancing French.

Blenheim, 1704. The battle of Blenheim was a brilliant

victory for Marlborough, and a bitter surprise to the French; it proved that the French soldiers were not invincible, and it marked the birth of a new military power of the first order. Henceforth for at least a hundred years the British infantry was unsurpassed in Europe.

After Blenheim Marlborough returned to the Netherlands, and prepared with his mixed army to drive the French out of that country. Dutch timidity prevented the accomplishment of anything in 1705, but in 1706

Ramillies, 1706. Marlborough fairly defeated Villeroy at the battle of Ramillies. The French army was destroyed, and the allies overran the Netherlands.

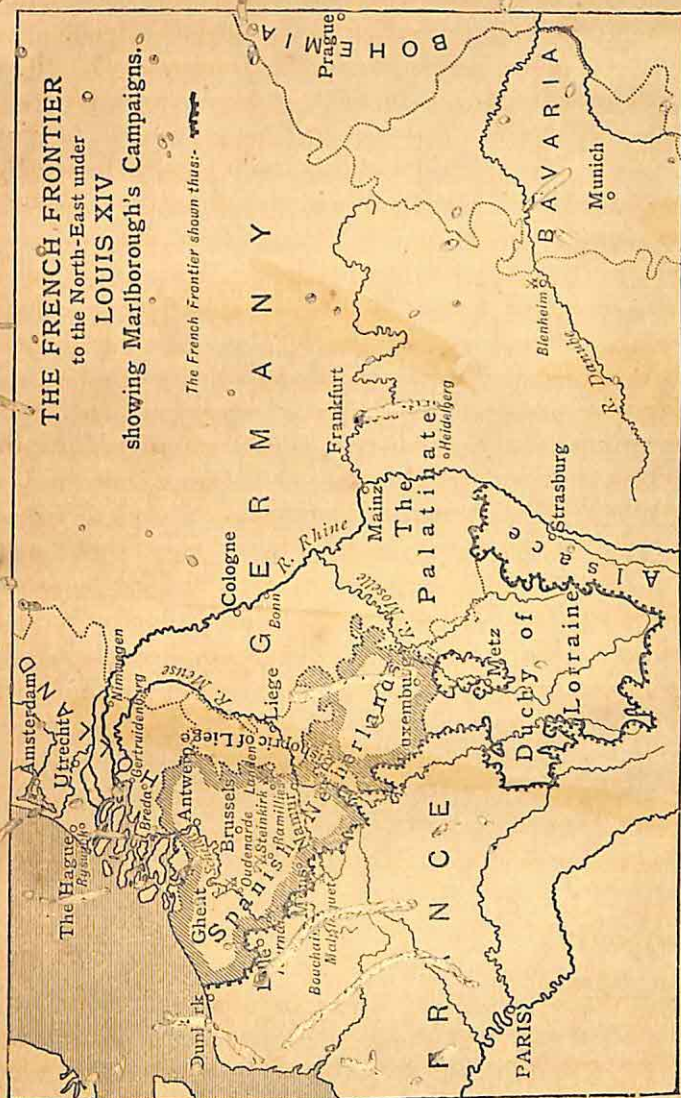
Meanwhile in Spain also the allies had been meeting with great success, chiefly through the feverish activity of the Earl of Peterborough. He it was of whom Swift wrote:

"In journeys he outrides the post,

Knows every prince in Europe's face,
Flies like a squib from place to place,
And travels not, but runs a race".

And in the words of Macaulay: "Repose was insupportable to him. He loved to fly round Europe faster than a travelling courier. He was at the Hague one week, at Vienna the next. Then he took a fancy to

¹ Peterborough was a figure of such casual interest that it would be inadvisable to catalogue his deeds without giving some description of the man himself. It may seem curious that we have chosen to do so in this case, and have omitted any estimate of Marlborough's character; but it would be impossible to do full justice to Marlborough in the short space at our disposal, while the student is more likely to have some previous knowledge of him than of Peterborough.



see Madrid; and he had scarcely reached Madrid, when he ordered horses, and set off for Copenhagen. No attendants could keep up with his speed. No bodily infirmities could confine him. Old age, disease, imminent death, produced scarcely any effect on his intrepid spirit."

He had been given full command over the army in Spain, and a joint command over the navy. With small and poorly-equipped forces he captured the important city of Barcelona (1705), and brought over to the Archduke's side the provinces of Catalonia and Valencia. This was followed in 1706 by the occupation of Madrid, but from that time the fortunes of the allies began to decline in Spain. Peterborough left the country, and as the misfortunes of Philip had enshrined him in the hearts of the Castilians, the war became a national war, waged to prevent foreigners from imposing on Spain a king not of the people's choice. At Almanza, in 1707, the allies sustained a severe defeat, and though battles were again won, and Madrid once more occupied by Charles, yet the lack of a great general, and the loyalty of the Spaniards to Philip, made all efforts to conquer the country unavailing. In 1710, the allies withdrew their armies from the Peninsula, and the war in Spain was practically over.

To compensate, however, for the failure of their operations in Spain, the allies secured continued successes in Italy and the Netherlands. Eugène won a great battle outside Turin in 1706, and from that moment the French cause in Italy was virtually ruined. The allies shortly secured the whole of North Italy, and the Emperor obtained a hold on Naples, which was maintained until the Peace of Utrecht definitely ceded that kingdom to him.

Successes of
Peterborough in
Spain, 1704-06.

Almanza,
1707.

Ultimate
Failure of the
Allies in Spain.

Their successes
in Italy.

In the Netherlands the victory of Families was followed up by those of Oudenarde in 1708, and Malplaquet¹ in 1709. Louis had offered to negotiate for peace after Ramilies, and again in 1709 before Malplaquet was fought, but the allies would not accept as sufficient the humiliating concessions he was willing to make.² After Oudenarde the road to Paris lay open before Marlborough, but political considerations prevented any act of boldness. The position of himself and the Whig government was so insecure, that unbroken success seemed indispensable to the security of both, and to run the slightest risk was to invite political defeat. Thus party politics in England were largely responsible for the undue prolongation of the war, which should have ended in 1709. The allies could then have gained full enough securities against French ambition, though it was doubtful whether Philip could have been driven from the throne of Spain, as the allies required.

Their successes in the Netherlands.

Negotiations for peace.

At last the patience of England was exhausted. A Tory majority was returned to Parliament in 1710, and as the queen thoroughly detested the Whigs, she took the opportunity to dismiss the government. Marlborough's fall was not long in coming, his dismissal being effected on the plea of malversation of public funds. Though in the main the accusations against him were unfounded, it is not to be regretted that he was superseded, and that a Tory government came into power, bent on ending a ruinous war, which was

Fall of the Whig government in England, 1710.

Marlborough dismissed, 1711.

¹ Malplaquet was a butchery which brought the victors little profit except the fortress of Mons. The French treated in good order, and Marlborough did not follow them into France.

² Louis offered the surrender by Philip of all the Spanish dominions except Naples and Sicily. But the allies replied that he must surrender even Sicily, and that Louis must himself help to drive his grandson out of Spain. Louis' pride, of course, then led him to break off negotiations.

being continued purely for the advantage of the Emperor and the Dutch. These allies insisted on carrying out the struggle to its bitter end, with the result that

The Tories make peace with Louis.

the English government entered into separate negotiations with Louis, finally

agreeing upon the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht

in 1713. Louis, exhausted and humbled though France

now was, obtained more favourable terms by this

separate negotiation than he could have got at any

previous time. The Dutch, after some protests, ac-

cepted these conditions, but the indignant¹ Emperor con-

tinued the struggle for another year until a change in

the fortunes of the war compelled him to

make peace at Rastadt, while shortly after-

wards a supplementary treaty was made

with the whole empire at Baden. For convenience

sake these three treaties are usually grouped together

as the "Peace of Utrecht", so that we may consider in

common the arrangements effected by them. The most

important of those arrangements were:—

(1) Philip of Anjou was recognized as King Philip V

of Spain and the Indies, after having solemnly

renounced all rights to the French succession.

(2) Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and the Spanish

Netherlands were given to the Emperor, but the Dutch

retained the right of garrisoning the Barrier fortresses.

(3) The Duke of Savoy received a small part of the

Milanese, and the island of Sicily with the title of king.

(4) France was allowed to retain Alsace with Stras-

burg, but surrendered all places, such as Freiburg, which

she had occupied on the right bank of the Rhine.

¹ Charles VI, best known to history as the father of Maria Theresa, for whose

succession he laboured so persistently in the Pragmatic Sanction. He was the Arch-

duke Charles of the Partition Treaties.

² These were eight in number, extending from Fumes in the west to Namur in the

east. Cf. note, p. 158.

(5) England received (a) from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca; (b) from France: Newfoundland,¹ Hudson's Bay, Acadia, and St. Kitts; while she obtained substantial commercial concessions from both. Moreover, the Protestant succession was acknowledged, and the Stuarts were banished from France.

The Treaty of Utrecht has been subjected to the most violent criticism; but though some of its provisions were upset by subsequent events, in the main it was as satisfactory a settlement as was feasible at the time. It may be urged that the whole war had been waged to prevent Philip from becoming king of Spain. But it had been found that he was the only possible king: the Spaniards unaided by French arms had driven out Charles, and they would accept no king but Philip. Moreover, Charles' brother Joseph had died in the course of the war (1711) after only six years of empire, and to make Charles king of Spain as well as emperor would have been far more dangerous to the peace of the world than to allow a Bourbon to sit upon the Spanish throne, particularly if that Bourbon could be made to renounce

Criticism of these terms.

Why Philip was allowed to remain King of Spain.

all claims on the throne of France. By such a renunciation a guarantee was obtained which minimized all danger, and another guarantee was found in the division of the Spanish inheritance. The House of Hapsburg was strengthened by the Italian possessions of Spain as well as by the Netherlands, and if the Hapsburgs were too weak to keep these gains, that was a contingency which the framers of the treaty could scarcely be expected to foresee. Similar precautions were taken to curb the restless ambition of France. On the side of Holland and

Value of the precautions taken against (a) Spain, (b) France.

¹ The cession of Newfoundland was subject to certain rights of fishing retained by the French, rights which have not ceased to give rise to controversy in our own day.

on the side of Italy she was confronted by the power of Austria,¹ and she was rigidly shut out from Germany by the Rhine. Still, her due place in Europe was recognized; she was not too much humiliated, and the concession of Alsace bade fair to pacify her and to prevent an early recurrence of hostilities. Beyond the seas, it is true, she lost greatly; but here again the peace wisely recognized existing facts; it registered as unquestioned the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, and showed that France had begun to lose in the race for colonies.

Peace recognized
accomplished facts.

Much wisdom, therefore, may be claimed for the Peace of Utrecht. Few treaties, indeed, are absolutely above censure, but each one must be judged by its results, its

General
estimate of
the Peace.

ability to bring enduring peace, its power to appease conflicting interests. Now a study of eighteenth-century history is conclusive that this treaty set many burning questions at rest either temporally or permanently. The only exception of moment can be found in the clauses settling the relationship of Austria and Spain. In this particular Elizabeth Farnese, a deep-scheming Spanish queen, was able in the next thirty years after Utrecht to modify the conditions of 1713 considerably by regaining some foothold for the Spanish Bourbons in the Italian Peninsula. Still, had the Hapsburgs remained as strong as had been expected, had Charles VI not frittered away his strength in contests with the Turks, Spain might have refrained from seeking to recover her lost provinces, and Italy have been spared further bloodshed. Here it was the occurrence of the unexpected which produced changes in the settlement of 1713, and these changes should not, therefore, be allowed to invalidate our general appreciation of the Peace.

¹ But in both cases a buffer was interposed between the two great rivals—the Barrier fortresses in the first case, Savoy in the second.

At this point we must close our account of the greatness of France, for Louis XIV only survived the Peace two years, and with his death the most glorious epoch of French history came to an end. France has never before or since been so truly great and powerful for so many years. If the names of Charlemagne and Napoleon be adduced to combat this statement, let it be remembered that the former was primarily German, not French, and that the empire of the latter, though vaster and more glorious than that of Louis, was less stable and had a shorter life. All that was greatest and most dazzling in French genius reached its apotheosis in the age of "le grand monarque", and Louis, if not the ablest man, was certainly the greatest and most respected king in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER X

RUSSIA

i. The Growth of Russia up to 1829

One of the greatest events of the eighteenth century was the entrance of Russia on the stage of European history. Previous to the reign of Peter the Great that country had for the most part remained outside the pale of European politics, and the Russian factor had not entered into the calculation of statesmen.

Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Russian monarchy to a band of northmen under Rurik, who in the year 862 settled in the centre of Russia, and made Novgorod their capital.¹ A century later Christianity was introduced, and

Retrospect of
Russian history
till accession of
Peter the Great.

¹The conquering race presumably amalgamated with the indigenous Slavonic population.

meanwhile the centre of power had been shifted from Novgorod to Kieff. By the twelfth century the kingdom had become divided into a group of princedoms, and a condition of chronic inter-tribal war reduced Russia to a condition of excessive weakness. Accordingly she succumbed to the attacks of the Mongols, who, under Batu, grandson of the great Jenghiz Khan, over-ran the country with fire and sword in the thirteenth century. These Mongols, commonly known as the Golden Horde, ruled Russia as a Tartar province for over two hundred years, using, however, the native princes as the agents of their government.

Mongol invasions, 1233-41.

Tamerlane, who as much as Attila the Hun merits the title "Scourge of God", threatened Russia without invading it, and the Tartars, no longer reinforced by fresh hordes, had gradually become weak and settled down in the fifteenth century to a condition of constant internal strife.

Towards the end of the century Ivan III, one of the native Russian princes, found himself strong enough to throw off the yoke of the Tartars and reunite Russia into one kingdom. He assumed the title of Czar, and by his great deeds and good government earned the title of "the Great". From this time Russia, with its capital at Moscow, made rapid strides towards greatness. The Tartars, now broken up into separate khanates, were gradually subdued—some in each succeeding century. For instance, the Tartars of Kazan were subdued in the sixteenth century by Ivan

Ivan III, 1462-1505. He throws off Tartar rule.

Ivan the Terrible, 1533-84. IV, the "Terrible", the contemporary and the suitor of our Queen Elizabeth, He was a monarch who, in his reign of half a century, increased the area of his kingdom nearly fourfold. His death in 1584 was followed by a period of civil and foreign war called "the troublous times"; but these evils

were ended in 1613 by the accession of the House of Romanoff, who are responsible for the present magnitude of the Russian Empire. Accession of the Romanoffs, 1613.

Alexis, father of Peter the Great, surnamed the "Father of his Country", was a ruler who accomplished much, but he is completely overshadowed by his greater son.

Peter, who came to the throne in 1682¹ at the early age of ten, is by universal admission the greatest of the Russian Czars. For seven years his sister Sophia acted as regent, and she was not Peter the Great, 1682-1725.

without hope of keeping permanently in her hands the reins of power. But Peter was too strong a personality to remain a puppet, and Sophia provoked the opposition of all classes by her open contempt for established customs. So in 1689 she was driven into the confinement of a monastery, and henceforth Peter ruled alone. As a boy he had given evidence of a precocious intelligence, strong will-power, and eccentric ways. He His youth and education.

played incessantly with drums, swords, and muskets. He read history, learnt Latin, German, and Dutch, but there was little method in his education. His youth, in short, was wild, but this very wildness was a gain. It withdrew him from the enervating atmosphere of the "tesem", or harem, and brought him into contact with a multitude of interesting persons and ideas. Above all, he met a number of foreign adventurers—German, French, and Scottish—from whom he learnt to value European civilization. Once seated securely His reforming aims.

on the throne, it became the most cherished object of his ambition to reform Russia on the European model. He made it his life-work to introduce western habits and ideas, in order to fit Russia for a place in the brotherhood of civilized nations. Progress would make

¹Peter had a half-brother Ivan, who reigned with him until his death in 1696. Ivan was, however, blind, lame, and half an idiot, so that he was only associated in name with the government.

more possible gigantic enterprises; it would increase the sum of Russian resources, and render the expansion of the empire an easier task. For the best-equipped nation has most success in peace and war.

Peter himself paid two journeys to Western Europe to study Western civilization in its real home. He learnt ship-building with his own hands in Hol-

Visits the West.

land and in London, and he studied the art of war at Vienna. He astonished all by his insatiable curiosity, his unflagging industry, and the coarseness of his manners. The result of his investigations was embodied in a remodelled army and a brand-new navy, for

Builds a navy
and remodels the
army.

Peter aimed at sea-power and commerce no less than land-power. The army re-

form was ushered in by the wholesale butchery of the Streltsi,¹ the old military caste, who had taken advantage of Peter's absence in the West to revolt in the interests of Conservatism. The dreams of sea-power were responsible for the foundation of a new capital, St. Petersburg, which was to be the incarnation of the new empire, a window opening upon Europe and the sea. Moscow remained, and partly still remains, Asiatic and barbaric; St. Petersburg from its birth has been European and progressive.

But these were but a small portion of Peter's reforming measures, for his zeal embraced every branch of administration and of life. He surrounded himself with foreigners who imported Western methods into Russia; for example, Frenchmen taught the Russians how to manufacture woollen stuffs, and an Englishman introduced improvements in the manufacture of leather.

¹ The Streltsi or Streltzi were originally the royal body-guard, founded by Ivan the Terrible. But, like the Praetorians at Rome and the Janissaries at Constantinople, they had acquired a wider power than accorded with the intention of their founder.

Numerous other industries were founded, mines exploited, and agriculture brought up to date; in short, Russia was well started on the path of economic progress. Internal commerce was

Encourages industries and education.

facilitated by the creation of canals, and external by the negotiation of commercial treaties. Nor did Peter underestimate the value of education in equipping a nation for its work. Though it was yet too soon to think of giving the masses any adequate instruction, yet not a few elementary schools were established in each province. But the bulk of the educational reforms were concerned with special schools, such as the commercial, maritime, and engineering colleges. A multitude of technical books were translated into Russian, skilled printers were introduced from Holland, and savants attracted from every Western nation. This importation of new ideas and methods distressed old Russia very much, but what caused her the sorest distress

The emancipation of women.

of all were Peter's attempts to emancipate women from the confinement of the "Terem". To their own disgust they were forced to appear in the light of day, to show themselves in public without veils, to attend European salons along with the other sex, to wear European dress, and in short to copy in all essentials the gay Parisienne. Betrothed couples were to see each other freely, and all parents and guardians were forbidden to exercise constraint in marriage upon their sons and wards. Such changes in a country where an almost Mohammedan seclusion had been the rule were bound to provoke the most frantic opposition. Nor were the men exempt from interference. They were ordered to discard their long sweeping gowns—the kaftans, as they were called—and to shave off their beards, which Peter held to be a relic of barbarism. Moreover, they were encouraged to consume tobacco, a habit hitherto unknown in Russia.

Peter's vast activity also found scope in governmental change. The administrative machine was simplified, and power concentrated more completely in the hands of the czar. With the same object the patriarchate was suppressed, and Peter himself became head of the church. The no-

Administrative
and social
changes.



bility likewise was subjected more completely to the autocrat, and it took upon itself the character of a nobility of service rather than of birth. Every noble had to serve the czar, and every man who served the czar became, if not a noble, at least a gentleman. These changes greatly consolidated the royal power, and Peter

became a more absolute monarch than any previous czar.

The last point to mention in connection with his reign is the extension of the frontiers. First, he sought to expand Russia on the south-west, and with that object he waged two wars against Turkey. In the first he took Azov, a useful port on the sea of that name, but in the second, after a humiliating capitulation, he had to give it back. It was therefore reserved for his successors to pursue that march towards the Bosphorus, which Peter had sketched out.

The expansion of Russia.

Turkish wars.

Second, he sought to extend his kingdom at the expense of Sweden, and to reach the Baltic by reconquering the Baltic provinces, which had formerly belonged to Russia. Peter arranged an unscrupulous league to deprive Charles XII of Sweden of his dominions, and he fought several wars with that warrior king. Charles defeated Peter at Narva in 1700, but at Pultowa in 1709 Peter had his revenge, and Charles, his army cut to pieces, fled to Turkey. The third part of the war likewise ended in the discomfiture of Sweden, and by the Peace of Nystadt Russia recovered the Baltic provinces. Her gains included Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland. Russia was now firmly planted on the Baltic, and Sweden's mastery of that sea had passed from her hands into that of her more powerful neighbour. Henceforth Sweden sinks to the position of a third-rate power, whilst Russia is fast advancing to join the ranks of the "great powers".

Swedish wars.

Pultowa, 1709.

Peace of Nystadt, 1721.

Peter survived the peace of Nystadt only four years, and died at the age of fifty-three, worn out by labour and excess. His widow, Catherine I, continued his policy during the few remaining

Death of Peter, 1725.

years of her life, and then came a succession of short reigns, which we shall refrain from handling. In place of attempting any description of subsequent sovereigns individually, we shall undertake a brief sketch of Russian expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, noticing the chief steps in the growth of the Eastern Question, and the part which the other European powers have taken in regulating that great question.

Expansion of Russia during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sir Edward Creasy,¹ writing in the year 1850, has some striking passages upon the expansion of Russia, and were he writing of the Russian Empire of to-day his figures would require to be very considerably augmented. He stated that "the acquisitions which Russia has made within the last seventy-six years are equal in extent and importance to the whole empire she had in Europe before that time; that the acquisitions she has made from Sweden are greater than what remains of that ancient kingdom; that her acquisitions from Poland are as large as the whole Austrian Empire; that the territory she has wrested from Turkey in Europe is equal to the dominions of Prussia, exclusive of her Rhenish provinces; and that her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are equal in extent to all the smaller states of Germany, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, Belgium, and Holland taken together; that the country she has conquered from Persia is about the size of England; that her acquisitions in Tartary have an area equal to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain. In sixty-four years² she has advanced her frontier 850 miles towards Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Paris; she has approached 450 miles nearer to Constantinople; she has possessed herself of the capital of Poland, and has advanced to within a

¹ Creasy's *Decisive Battles of the World* (Pultowa).

² 1774-1838.

few miles of the capital of Sweden, from which, when Peter the Great mounted the throne, her frontier was distant 300 miles. Since that time she has stretched herself forward about 1000 miles towards India, and the same distance towards the capital of Persia."

Expansion on the same vast scale has continued since those words were written, but of recent times it has almost entirely taken an easterly route, and it was certainly during the period just summarized in our quotation that most of the European expansion of Russia took place. Notwithstanding that the seventy-six years of most rapid growth only included the last quarter of the eighteenth century, we can choose no fitter starting-point than the reign of Peter the Great, for he it was who began the policy of expansion on a large scale, and the first important war against the Ottoman Empire was waged by him (1696).

European expansion.

Extension of Russian boundaries on the side of Turkey.

In the eighteenth century four big Turkish wars took place.

The first ended in the capitulation of the Pruth, when Peter was so humiliated that he had to relinquish Azov. The second was waged in conjunction with Austria; and though Austria lost largely, Russia acquired some important fortresses and a strip of territory between the Bug and the Dnieper. Azov also was regained. It is noteworthy

The four Russo-Turkish wars in the eighteenth century.

that the victorious progress of Russian arms was largely arrested by the successful diplomacy of France. France was the first of the western powers to begin the policy of thwarting Russian ambitions in the East by supporting her weaker neighbours.

(i) 1710-11, ends in Peace of the Pruth.

(ii) 1736-39, ends in Peace of Belgrade.

After thirty years of peace the third war was waged, from 1768 to 1774. But the Russian troops suffered

reverses, and Catherine, hampered by an insurrection of Cossacks, made the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, by which she surrendered considerable territory, though Russia greatly strengthened her position on the north coast of the Black Sea. Moreover, the independence of the Crimea was acknowledged by the Porte, and ten years later Catherine, who had devoted much attention to increasing her ascendancy over the Tartar tribes of the south, annexed the Crimea and the Kouban in time of peace. Efforts were made by the great French minister Vergennes¹ to secure the co-operation of Great Britain in a protest against this infringement of national rights, but all such efforts were unrewarded, and the Crimea has remained an integral part of the Russian Empire ever since 1784.

The fourth war began in 1787. As in the second, the Turks had to fight both Russia and Austria at once, with the same result, viz. that Russia was successful and Austria was not. Ceding merely Orsova to Austria, the sultan had to surrender to Russia the important fortress of Oczakov, which had been taken after a terrible siege, and all of the surrounding district that lay between the rivers Bug and Dniester. A triple alliance, lately formed by England, Prussia, and Holland, for the preservation of peace, had exerted its influence to limit the demands of Catherine, for Europe had now become alarmed at the persistent aggressions of Russia, and the policy of supporting Turkey was becoming an established rule. It was the weakness of the Ottoman

(iii) 1768-74, ends in Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji.
Annexation of the Crimea.

(iv) 1787-92, ends in Peace of Jassy.
Birth of the Eastern Question.

¹The Count de Vergennes was an experienced diplomatist who knew European politics thoroughly well. He directed the foreign affairs of France during most of Louis XVI's reign, and his name figures in all the important European wars and complications of the time, e.g. American War, Russo-Turkish War, Bavarian War, &c.

Empire which made external support necessary, and the eventual fate of Constantinople, involving the question as to who should inherit the Ottoman Empire on its break-up, began to be called the Eastern Question.

In the nineteenth century this question assumed graver proportions. As in the eighteenth, ^{The four Russo-Turkish wars in the nineteenth century.} four wars were fought, ending respectively in 1812, 1829, 1856, and 1878.

By the first Russia regained Bessarabia (gained in 1739, and relinquished in 1774), and once more got a footing on the Danube.

By the second she obtained the islands in the Danube delta, and the cession of Turkish sovereignty over the Caucasian tribes.¹

By the third war Russia's advance was temporarily suspended by the Western powers, whilst the fourth one ushered in the break-up of the Ottoman Empire by the creation of several new and independent states in the Balkans, which may turn out to be a permanent obstacle in the path of Russia. The Muscovite Empire has, however, in the last two hundred years expanded in a south-westerly direction from the Dnieper to the Danube, a distance of some four hundred miles, and it has gone far towards turning the Black Sea into a Russian lake.

In other directions even greater strides have been made. More than half of Poland has ^{Russian expansion in other directions,} been incorporated in the Russian Empire by successive partitions in 1772, 1793, and 1795. Besides the Baltic provinces acquired by Peter the Great, Sweden has had to hand over Fin- ^{(a) West.} land to Russia, a small portion in 1743, but the greater part in 1809. Many insurrections have been caused in

¹ But so unconquerable were these wild mountain tribes that Circassia and Daghestan were not finally subdued until 1864. The remaining provinces of Caucasia and Transcaucasia have been obtained piece by piece, from independent princes (e.g. Georgia), from Persia (e.g. Shirvan), and from Turkey (e.g. Kars and Batoum).

Poland, and much discontent in Finland, by the suppression of all local independence, and the repression of all national feeling in these countries, for Russia pursues the centralizing and unifying policy, which produces a show of solidity at the expense of real loyalty.

Towards the East the Russian advance has been steadily pursued to the great loss of Persia, the Turkomans, and the Chinese Empire, and now Russia has planted her foot firmly upon the Yellow Sea,

and has become a permanent peril to the "Son of Heaven".¹ Whether the Chinese Empire will shortly fall to pieces is a much-disputed question; should it do so Russia would most probably

obtain the larger portion of the spoil.² Similarly in Persia Russian influence tends to oust that of Great Britain, and the reforms—mostly economic—made in the kingdom of the Shah, are now made at Russian instigation and for Russian ends. India is still separated from the dominions

of the czar by a number³ of so-called buffer states, but the Russian advance in Central Asia has often been regarded as

a standing menace to the British power in India. The fears of most Englishmen on this score are probably exaggerated, but still it must be a main object of our policy to maintain the integrity of these buffer states in order to prevent the immediate contiguity of two such powerful empires and probable foes.

¹ The Son of Heaven is the native name for the Emperor of the Chinese or Celestial Empire.

² Russia has already (1903) occupied, and to all purposes annexed, Manchuria, and is strengthening her position in the East by much building of railways.

³ Afghanistan is the most important of these, but in some respects it resembles a vassal state of the Indian government. The westernmost portion of the Chinese Empire (otherwise Eastern Turkestan) also separates North India and Cashmere from the dominions of the czar.

Having reviewed in the briefest possible manner the general expansion of Russia, and noticed the origin of the Eastern Question in the eighteenth century, let us examine particularly the more important landmarks in the history of that question during the nineteenth century.

More special examination of the Eastern Question in the nineteenth century.

We have already alluded to the first Turkish war of that century; it not only brought Russia some territorial gain, but its conclusion set free the Russian armies who had fought against the Turks in time to make Napoleon's retreat from Moscow more disastrous than it otherwise would have been. The War of Liberation from the Napoleonic yoke brought glory to Russia and considerable gain, for she obtained almost the whole of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, composed of provinces taken by Napoleon from Prussia and Austria.¹ The czar in 1815 became head of the alliance of kings called the Holy Alliance, whose object was to maintain untouched the prescriptive rights of princes, and to crush all attempts at revolution in favour of liberalism or nationality. However, the struggle of the Greeks for independence was an exception to the rule. Here was an opportunity for attacking Turkey, and resuming the march towards Constantinople. So the Czar Nicholas not only supported the Greeks in unison with France and England, but entered upon a war with Turkey on his own account. The loss of Greece, together with the successes of Russia in this war, still further demoralized the Ottoman Empire and the pashas of dis-

First Russo-Turkish War, 1807-12.

The Holy Alliance, 1815.

Greeks obtain their independence, 1827.

Second Turkish War, 1828-29.

¹ Thus Russia now possessed more of Poland than she had held even in 1795 after the three partitions, and Prussia and Austria less. But as a set off, Alexander granted a constitution to the Poles in his new acquisition—the grand-duchy. This constitution was annulled in 1831.

tant provinces took advantage of this weakness to rebel.

**Mohammed Ali
and the Porte.**

The most redoubtable of these rulers was Mohammed Ali, who by his own exertions had raised himself to the position of viceroy of Egypt, and who aimed at severing the connection of that country with the Porte, a connection which had existed for about three hundred years, and had been most unprofitable to the dependent country.

ii. Mohammed Ali and the Turco-Egyptian Question

Hardly had five years passed since Navarino, when the ambitious projects of Mohammed Ali revived the whole Eastern Question, and turned the eyes of statesmen upon Turkey and Egypt for nearly a decade. The powerful vassal of the sultan, disappointed by the failure of the Greek War,¹ began to seek elsewhere a field for his ambition.

**Mohammed Ali
Pasha of Egypt,
1805-49.**

**Seeks to enlarge
his boundaries
and to make him-
self independent.**

He asked the Sultan Mahmoud II for the Pashalic of Damascus for his son Ibrahim as a reward for the services rendered by that great general in the Greek War. On a refusal being given, Ibrahim invaded Syria and speedily reduced it, defeating every Turkish force which was sent against him. Penetrating into Asia Minor, he so completely crushed the last remaining Turkish army at Konieh, that the road to Constantinople lay open before him. But Russia, with

**Conquest of
Syria and in-
vasion of
Asia Minor,
1831-32.**

her designs on the Bosphorus, had no wish to see a strong and vigorous rule established there, so she offered support to the sultan and hoped thereby to establish a

¹ Mohammed Ali had despatched a powerful fleet to help the sultan in the Greek War of Independence, and for a while his son Ibrahim carried all before him in the Morea. But after Navarino the pasha was forced to recall his son, and his hopes of obtaining a reward for the help given soon fell to the ground. Even the promise of Crete, which the sultan had made him, remained unfulfilled.

right of future intervention in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The Western powers, disunited as they were in their attitude towards Mohammed Ali, were united in their fear of Russia, and strove at any price to preclude the necessity of her giving assistance to the Porte. The diplomatic battle at last resulted in a convention, by which the sultan, hard pressed by the allies, gave Mohammed Ali the Pashalic of Syria to keep him quiet. Turkey was thus bolstered up both against the ambitious designs of the Pasha of Egypt, and also against the mock disinterestedness of Russia.

Weakness of the Porte.

Syria given to Mohammed Ali, 1833.

But only three months later a real shock was administered to the allies by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, in which Mahmoud, indignant at the humiliation he had been subjected to, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the czar. Russia had half gained her object, and the Western powers had to be content with a strongly-worded protest against the treaty. But should Russia ever seek to act upon the terms of this treaty, it was clear that a wide-spread opposition would be aroused.

Mahmoud allies himself with Russia at Unkiar-Skelessi, 1833.

For six years the Eastern Question slumbered, until in 1839 Mahmoud, burning to be revenged on Mohammed Ali, launched his troops upon Syria, but only to undergo a more disastrous series of defeats than in 1832. Ibrahim gained a great victory at Nessib, and the Turkish admiral¹ handed over his fleet to the enemy at Alexandria. The time had now come for the application of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, but no more of those sudden changes of policy so common in the history of the Eastern Question now took place. The

The war in Syria renewed, 1839.

Change in the policy of Russia.

¹ Achmed Pasha Fauzi.

Czar Nicolas had for some years realized how opposed his Turkish policy was to the wishes of the European cabinets. At the same time he had long sought to come to an understanding with Palmerston, the British foreign minister, and to reconcile both the Asiatic and European ambitions of the two countries. An excellent opportunity had now arrived, and the ~~Sait~~ to be gathered might be all the riper, inasmuch as such an understanding would widen the already existing breach between England and France. So he declared that the offensive treaty with Turkey would be allowed to lapse; he refrained from isolated action in the East, and was prepared to assist in forming a coalition of great powers to regulate the Turco-Egyptian question.

Nicolas deserts
Mahmoud and
approaches the
Western powers.

Negotiations were thereupon opened under the direction of Palmerston with the leading powers, but the uncertain policy of France delayed a settlement. Public opinion in that country rejected the idea of coercing Mohammed Ali, for he was regarded as the protégé of France, and a possible ally to be employed against English sea-power in the Mediterranean. The government of Louis Philippe¹ could not afford to ignore popular sentiment, and it at last became plain to Palmerston that beneath the veiled promises of French statesmen double intrigues were being carried on with Mohammed Ali and the Porte. So in July, 1840, a convention with the object of coercing the recalcitrant pasha was concluded between England,

Concert of the
powers formed to
support Turkey
and coerce
Mohammed Ali.

Convention of
London, 1840.

¹ Louis Philippe, head of the junior or Orléans branch of the Bourbons, became king of France with a liberal regime in 1830, after the revolution wherein the reactionary Charles X had been dethroned. But Louis Philippe's liberalism in its turn shrivelled up so decidedly that he also lost his throne, and in 1848 the monarchy gave place to that republic which, under the presidency of Louis Napoleon—the great Bonaparte's nephew—led to the Second Empire (1850-1870).

Russia, Prussia, and Austria, without the knowledge of France. Palmerston, in a letter recently published, amply justifies his diplomacy Palmerston's justification of it. at this crisis, though it provoked such uncontrollable fury south of the Channel that war between the two countries was with the greatest difficulty averted. He says: "The state of the case may in a few words be said to be, that as long as we had a hope that France would act with us we treated her with unlimited confidence; and that when at last we found it certain that she would not act with us, we did not think it prudent to let her into our counsels for fear she should thwart us by intriguing in Europe, and by sending information to Egypt".

By the terms of the convention Mohammed Ali was to be offered Egypt as a hereditary pashalic, and Southern Syria with Acre for life, if he accepted the ultimatum within ten days; after this limit Terms of the Convention. of time he was to be excluded from Syria, and should he hold out another ten days the sultan was to be pledged to nothing.

Trusting to receive help from France, Mohammed Ali rejected the ultimatum. But French help never came, and his downfall was rapid and complete. Mohammed Ali rejects them. A combined British, Austrian, and Turkish fleet appeared off the coast of Syria, whilst on land the natives rose against the Egyptian tyrant, whose government had gone from bad to worse.¹ The odds were too heavy against Mohammed Ali and his son: Beirut and Acre were taken by the allied fleet, and Sir Charles Napier threat-

He loses Syria, but retains Egypt, 1840.

¹ Ibrahim had been made to bleed the people to pay for the cost of Mohammed Ali's large military establishment and expensive expeditions. Further, the system of government monopolies was introduced from Egypt, and the *kourbag* or whip was applied to the Syrians more than they cared for. They were less accustomed to corporal punishment and physical maltreatment than the docile fellahin of the Nile valley.

ened to bombard the pasha in his palace of Ras-El-Tin.¹ Meanwhile, Ibrahim was compelled to evacuate Syria, and Mohammed Ali signed a convention resigning all claims to Syria, receiving in return the promise of Egypt for himself and heirs. The Turco-Egyptian question was settled. Europe had shown its desire to prop up the sick man, but the ruling motive had really been the fear of Russia. The jealousies of the European states had been more responsible for Mohammed Ali's fall than any real antagonism to his power itself or than any real love for the Turk. There was, however, real justification for coercion in the unsettled state of the East produced by Mohammed Ali's ambition. Moreover, his commercial monopolies had made any further extension of his empire inadvisable.

But that which, at first, was the main question in the East—the fate of Turkey—was no nearer solution than in 1830; nay, rather the active interference of a European concert implied a long postponement of any such solution, and Russia

The Eastern Question still undecided.

in the course of these years was forced to abandon any immediate hope of expansion to the Bosphorus. To prevent friction in the future a treaty was made between

Closure of the Dardanelles, 1842.

the great powers in 1842 determining the closure of the Dardanelles to the war-ships of all nations. It perhaps formed a fitting epilogue to the Turco-Egyptian question, but its value as a practical preventive of further troubles was highly questionable.

iii. The Crimean War

During the ensuing ten years the Eastern Question remained quiescent, but Nicolas, occupied though he was with other matters, kept his eyes fixed on Constantinople,

¹ One of the summer palaces of the viceroy, magnificently situated on a promontory at Alexandria between the harbour and the sea.

and made several ineffectual attempts to arrange with Great Britain a contingent treaty, to operate in the event of the death of the "sick man".¹ But each successive British government rejected these overtures, for Palmerston, who, with brief intervals, controlled the foreign policy of Great Britain for thirty years, was an avowed enemy of Russia, and he determined, at all costs to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The Czar Nicolas
and the Eastern
Question.

In 1850 a quarrel arose, between the monks of the Greek and Latin churches at Jerusalem concerning the custody of the Holy Places. France had obtained by a definite capitulation in the eighteenth century the position of "Protector to the Latin Christians in the East", while the czars of Russia had gradually assumed the same rôle with regard to the adherents of the Greek Church within the Ottoman Empire. On this occasion both parties were supported by their government, and the Porte was placed under the unpleasant necessity of deciding between the claims of two great powers. The matter, however, might have been amicably arranged had not the czar seen in this quarrel an opportunity for furthering the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. In 1853 he sent the overbearing Prince, Menschikoff to Constantinople, not merely to settle the question of the Holy Places, but, what was more important, to claim for Russia the immediate protectorate of all orthodox Christians within the Turkish Empire. This, if conceded, would have deprived the sultan of his sovereignty over more than half his subjects in Europe.

Quarrel about
Holy Places at
Jerusalem
revives the
Eastern Question,
1850-53.

Extravagant
Russian demands
rejected by the
Porte, 1853.

¹ It was the Czar Nicolas who first spoke of Turkey as a "sick man" on the point of death. Cf. his conversations with Sir G. H. Seymour, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, relative to the disposal of the sick man's property in case of death.

² I.e. members of the Greek or Holy Orthodox Church.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the doyen of the diplomatic body at Constantinople, the vigorous reformer of abuses, but inveterate foe of Russian policy, counselled the sultan¹ to stand firm against this new and outrageous demand. Skilfully he separated the two questions, arranged a compromise on the affair of the

The Russians occupy Danubian principalities, July, 1853.

Holy Places, and left the demand for a protectorate standing out in all its nakedness. Backed up by Palmerston and

Napoleon III of France, he was then instrumental in the complete refusal of this demand, so that the Russian envoy withdrew defeated, and the czar in his anger ordered his troops to occupy the Danubian principalities.

The Vienna Note, August, 1853.

Meanwhile the matter had been taken up by the great powers collectively, and a congress meeting at Vienna drafted the Vienna note, a compromise which the czar promised to comply with. To the sultan, however, the wording of the note seemed to leave the door open for future Russian interference.

The Sultan declares war, Oct., 1853.

Trusting then to the ebullition of public feeling which had broken out in England and in France, he refused to accept the note, and thinking the struggle to be inevitable, he formally declared war two months later. After an interval of five

1854.

months, during which France and England endeavoured to perform defensive functions with their fleets, the two allies declared war in March, 1854. Had

France and England declare war against Russia, March, 1854.

they been able to act in unison with the other powers, the czar must have yielded to collective pressure; but the other powers were cautious, whilst the war fever in England and France prevented the governments in those countries from adopting similar caution. As it was, the object of the war had really been attained before the French and

English armies were brought into action, for the threatening attitude of Austria, added to the bravery of the Turks at the siege of Silistria, caused Russia to evacuate the principalities and recross the Danube.

Russians evacuate the principalities. Aug., Sept., 1854.

But this revelation of her weakness provided the war party in France and England with the opportunity they sought of striking a decisive blow against her, and perhaps furnished also an occasion for arranging a more permanent settlement of the Eastern Question.

Austria undertakes their occupation.

The destruction of Sebastopol and of the Russian Black Sea fleet seemed the most effective method of reducing Russian sea-power and protecting Turkey, so that the allied armies were ordered to immediately enter the

Crimea and capture Sebastopol. They landed in the Crimea on September 14th,

Allies land in the Crimea, Sept., 1854.

but their advance was opposed by a Russian army under Menschikoff,¹ who took up his position between Sebastopol and the invaders.

On September 30th the battle of the Alma was fought. It was won partly by an accident, partly by the bravery of the Highlanders under Sir Colin Campbell, and it resulted in the retreat of Menschikoff to Sebastopol.

Battle of the Alma, Sept. 20th.

The allies followed, and they marched round Sebastopol to Balaclava, where they took up their position for the siege of the fortress. Menschikoff, having sunk the Russian fleet at the

mouth of the harbour, had evacuated the city, entrusting its defence to the sailors of the fleet.

1854 Investment and siege of Sebastopol.

But the fortifications were unfinished, and the expectation of defeat was great, so that an immediate assault, as advocated by the British commander, Lord Raglan, would most probably have been attended with

¹ Prince Menschikoff was both soldier and diplomatist. He was great-grandson of the first of that name, the companion and counsellor of Peter the Great.

complete success. However, the more regular plan of an orderly siege was adopted, and now began a series of operations that will ever be famous in history.

The bombardment began on the 17th of October, but an engineer of great genius, Colonel Todleben, had now perfected the defence, and Menschikoff had reinforced the garrison. He himself again advanced against the allies, and fought the battles of Balaclava and of Inkermann.

Battle of Balaclava, Oct. 25th.

Balaclava is a name which will ever be associated with the most glorious heroism, for it was there that the famous charges of the Heavy and the Light Brigades took place. In the first charge three hundred horsemen of the Heavy Brigade, but slightly supported, routed as many thousand Russian cavalry, and in the second, owing to the error of a subordinate, six hundred men were despatched into the very heart of the enemy's position to rescue some guns. Gallantly they rode to their destruction through a hail-storm of bullets.

"Into the jaws of death,
Into the mouth of hell,
Rode the six hundred.
Flashed all their sabres bare,
Flashed as they turned in air,
Charging an army, while
All the world wondered.

Then they rode back, but not
Not the six hundred."¹

Of the six hundred and seventy-five men who started, but one hundred and ninety-five returned.

Such feats of valour greatly disheartened the Russians, but the battle was not fought out as it might have been, and the Russians were allowed to retain the position they had won, a position of some importance, command-

¹ "The Charge of the Light Brigade", by Lord Tennyson

ing the only good road from Balaclava harbour to the British camp eight miles away. The battle of Balaclava was followed after ten days by that of Inkermann, "where eight thousand Englishmen kept a Russian army of forty thousand at bay for several hours until the French came up and helped them to drive the enemy back in confusion". As, however, the opportunity of assaulting the town was again neglected, a long winter siege was inevitable, and the soldiers in the trenches suffered miserably from cold, damp, disease, and want of the

Battle of Inkermann, Nov. 5th.

Sufferings of the allied armies.

ordinary necessities of life. In truth such a protraction of the operations had not been expected, and had in no way been provided for, and when ships did arrive with stores, not a few of them were destroyed by a violent hurricane. The rest discharged their cargoes, but these lay rotting in the harbour for want of a good road and an efficient transport service. A violent outcry arose in England at this gross mismanagement, and the Aberdeen ministry, which had been responsible for the war, fell in February, 1855, being replaced by one with Palmerston as premier.

1855. Change of ministry in England.

This is not the place to enquire into the causes of the mismanagement, for which, indeed, the peculiar conditions of the campaign were very largely responsible. Enough that vigorous measures were taken to end the misery. An efficient commissariat was set on foot, land transport organized, and hospitals energetically administered by the devoted Florence Nightingale.

In the spring of the year 1855 several important events happened.

(1) Sardinia, who in fear of Austria sought to befriend the Western powers, was persuaded by them to join the war, and sent fifteen thousand troops to the Crimea.

Sardinia joins alliance, Jan. 1855.

(2) The Czar Nicolas^d died in March, worn out with disappointment, and the succession of Alexander II raised some hopes of peace.

Death of Nicolas I,
March, 1855.

Failure of fresh
peace negotiations.

(3) A conference met at Vienna with the purpose of making peace, but its efforts remained abortive.

So the war continued; a number of unsuccessful assaults were made, but the siege works approached nearer and nearer the city. Sebastopol had been now made well-nigh impregnable, and the siege was watched by a Russian field army of two hundred thousand men. On August 16th this army, with the object, as at Inker-

Battle of the
Tchernaya,
August 16th.

man, of averting an assault, attacked the allies at the battle of the Tchernaya. But the attack was repulsed, and three weeks later a grand assault was planned. The French, with thirty

Grand assault and
capture of Sebas-
topol, Sept. 1855.

thousand men, were to attack the Malakoff, a fort which was the real key to the defences, whilst the English prepared to assault the Redan.¹ The attack upon the Redan was too feeble to be successful, but the Malakoff fell before French valour, and the town was taken. In the last twenty-eight days the Russians alone had lost eighteen thousand men, and the bombardment during this time had been so hot and furious that in one day about seventy thousand projectiles were hurled upon the town.

The fall of Sebastopol really ended the war, for Austria, now in agreement with the allies, presented to the czar an ultimatum which he dared not refuse, and a treaty was signed at Paris in March, 1856. Its

The war ended by
the Treaty of Paris,
March, 1856.

¹ The Redan, the Malakoff, and the Flagstaff Bastion were the three strongest of the Sebastopol defence works, against which the main efforts of the allies were directed. The capture of the Malakoff by the French on Sept. 8th virtually decided the siege.

main provisions were: a guarantee for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; the abolition of Russian claims to a protectorate over the Danubian principalities; the neutralization of the Black Sea and Danube; and the closing of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles to the war-ships of all nations, Turkey alone excepted. Turkey was once again recognized as a sovereign state in whose concerns no great power should meddle, but in return the sultan promised wide reforms, and expressed generous intentions towards his Christian subjects. Its provisions.

Had these terms been put into operation, Russian expansion would have been effectually checked in the south-east of Europe, and the eighty million pounds expended by Great Britain in the war would not have been in vain. But Turkey failed to make good this new lease of life: the reforms were not honestly executed, and within twenty years fresh disturbances began within the Balkan peninsula, which stultified the work of the war, and reopened the whole question. In so far, therefore, as it has been found impossible to prevent the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, the policy which dictated the Crimean War may have been a mistaken policy. But it at least showed Russia that her claim to be the sole inheritor of the Ottoman Empire would not be tolerated, but that in the event of dismemberment the powers which had attempted to prop up the "sick man" would insist on receiving shares in the inheritance.¹ Thus the balance of power in the south-east of Europe would not be too completely overturned. Policy of the Crimean War criticised.

¹ As a matter of fact, the change of policy recorded below prevented such a distribution of shares from taking place. Small independent states were created instead, and only some few of the great powers obtained accessions of territory at the dismemberment of 1878. Cf. p. 200. The result, however, was the same as that indicated here: Russia did not have things all her own way.

iv. The War of 1877-78 and the Treaty of Berlin

Since that time a great change has come over the Eastern policy of the great powers, for when twenty years later a great dismemberment of the Turkish Empire took place, when the policy of propping up was no longer practicable, a number of new states were created; the great powers claimed little for themselves, and even Russia, with the lesson of the Crimean War fresh in her memory, contented herself with being only a partial gainer. The events which led to the great dismemberment of 1878 must now be catalogued. Roughly, it was made necessary by the restlessness of the Balkan provinces, and effected by the united will of Europe after a war in which the Turks were defeated by the Russians.

During the twenty years which followed the Crimean War a movement called Panslavism had begun to dominate the politics of Eastern Europe. The Slavs throughout the East were at last awake to the fact of their nationality, and a wide-spread desire arose for the union of all Slavs. This feeling was especially strong in the Balkan peninsula where the Slav had been for centuries under the heel of the alien, and it was fomented by Russian agitators, who well knew that Russian interests would profit by the success of the movement.

The Balkan provinces were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Servia, and Bulgaria. All of these formed part of the Ottoman Empire, but were allowed a varying degree of independence in local government, though they had many serious grounds of complaint against the Porte. They had mostly been in-

Russo-Turkish War of 1877 marks a change in the Eastern policy of the powers.

Events which led up to the war of 1877.

Panslavism.

Unrest in the Balkans.

dependent kingdoms or principalities until their conquest by Turkish armies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and now they determined to make a bid for renewed independence. Moldavia and Wallachia are not included amongst the above, for they had since the Crimean War united themselves under one prince and become the autonomous, though still tributary, state of Roumania.¹

The unrest which pervaded the Balkans produced a rising in Herzgovina in the summer of 1875. The insurgents demanded certain reforms by which to obtain a greater personal security and better government. The victories they gained induced the Porte to issue a plan of reform for the whole empire, by which religious equality was to be established, and elective councils chosen in each province. But no trust could be placed in these promises, and the movement was spreading to Servia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro.

It was at this crisis that the powers of Europe stepped in to effect a settlement. Their first move was the Andrassy Note, a note drafted by the Austrian minister, Count Andrassy, and approved by the five powers, outlining certain essential reforms, religious, constitutional, judicial, and financial. The sultan accepted it in part, but failed to act upon it, so that affairs rapidly assumed a more threatening outlook. Each of the Balkan states was under arms, and a regular border war had begun, abounding in cruelties on either side, and culminating in the

Insurrection in Herzgovina, 1875.

It spreads to the adjacent provinces.

The Andrassy Note, Feb. 1876.

Murder of the consuls, May 7th.

¹ The powers who had signed the Treaty of Paris made a settlement concerning Wallachia and Moldavia two years later (1858). These states were to be ruled by separate princes of their own choice, and to pay a tribute to the Porte. But as they both chose the same prince, a new arrangement was made by which the two states were united and received the new name of Roumania. Since 1866 Roumania has had a prince of the family of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as her king. The Queen of Roumania is the famous Carmen Sylva.

murder of the French and German consuls at Salonica by fanatical Mohammedans on May 7th.

The Emperors of Russia, Austria, and Germany then drew up the Berlin Note—a more strongly-worded document than the ill-fated Andrassy Note.

The Berlin Note drafted, but not presented, May, 1876.

But the English government took exception to a certain clause threatening "further action if at the end of two months no settlement had been arrived at". The traditional British policy of hostility to Russia thus prevented a collective intervention by the European powers, and the sultan saw safety in this lack of unity, and strove to widen the gulf between the powers.

The spring and summer of this year were full of the most thrilling incidents. Following upon the murder of the consuls and the drafting of the Berlin Note there came a coup d'état

Coup d'état at Constantinople, May, 1876.

at Constantinople, by which the weak Abdul Aziz was deposed, and replaced by Murad, whose lunacy so much increased that after three months he also was deposed in favour of Abdul Hamid II, the present sultan. Then came the notorious Bul-

The Bulgarian atrocities, May-June.

garian atrocities, in which the irregular auxiliaries of the Porte were allowed to work their will upon the Christian peasantry of Bulgaria, and were publicly rewarded for their work of brutality and massacre. These atrocities were taken up by Gladstone and the opposition as a lever to overthrow the ministry of Disraeli;¹ and public opinion in England was beginning to tire of the traditional policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire.

Meanwhile Servia and Montenegro had declared war, and though numbers of Russian volunteers fought against the Turks, the armies of the sultan were everywhere suc-

¹ Afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield.

cessful. The British government then offered to mediate, while the czar, declaring "that the present state of affairs is intolerable", announced that if Europe failed to move and effect a settlement, Russia would have to act alone. He, however, agreed to take part in a conference at Constantinople, which had been proposed by the British government. This, the third attempt of the powers at intervention, failed like its predecessors, as Turkey would not listen to dictation. The sultan, indeed, as a counterblast, issued a new and liberal constitution for the whole empire, but no one was deceived by this, and the pressure of events led the czar to make good his threat of separate action. Collective diplomatic action having egregiously failed, and the employment of force collectively being impossible by reason of England's middle policy, Alexander despatched an ultimatum to the sultan, and upon its rejection he declared war.

Servia and Montenegro declare war, July, 1876.

Abortive conference at Constantinople, Dec. 1876-Jan. 1877.

The Czar Alexander II declares war, April, 1877.

The war may be divided conveniently into three periods:—

(1) *April-July*.—Early Russian successes. The Russians crossed the Danube, occupied Bulgaria, and obtained possession of the two chief passes across the Balkans.

(2) *July-December*.—Successful Turkish resistance. The Russians were forced back from the Eastern Balkans, and Osman Pasha for five months heroically defended Plevna against vastly superior armies. Finally Tölleben's skilful investment of the town compelled surrender, but only when the supply of provisions was exhausted. About fifty-five thousand Russians perished in the siege.

Brief summary of the war.

(3) *December-January*.—Victorious Russian advance

across the Balkans to Adrianople, where peace negotiations were opened.

Such are the bare outlines of the war; the military history is too long to record, and a complete account of the siege of Plevna alone has filled a volume.

It remains to notice the results of the war and the attitude of the other powers during its progress. Despite the indignation of England at the single-handed action of the czar, the lack of allies compelled her to acquiesce, for

Attitude of other powers during the war.

Alexander had secured the neutrality of Austria and Germany, while France, now a republic, preferred to avoid a vigorous Eastern policy. Yet though Disraeli found it necessary to sign a convention of neutrality, he made a

Great Britain has to follow the rest in their neutrality.

condition that Russia on her part should respect the neutrality of Egypt and the Suez Canal, and should not occupy Constantinople or the Dardanelles. Alexander cannot be said to have broken this agreement; still, the advance of the Russian head-quarters within sight of Constantinople, the slowness of the negotiations, and the severity with which Turkey was handled in the Treaty of St. Stefano,¹ nearly induced the British government

But serious differences arise over the terms of peace.

to declare war. Lord Beaconsfield (as Disraeli had now become) admitted that he would have gone to war had the czar been less amenable,

but the threatening attitude of Great Britain

did at last induce Alexander to allow a reconsideration of the treaty in a congress of representatives from the chief powers. The suspicious hostility of Austria no doubt also contributed to this result, for Alexander feared a combination between Austria and England, which his now shattered armies would be quite unable to cope

¹ Cf. note, p. 201. St. Stefano is almost a suburb of Constantinople.

with. The lesson of the Crimean War had not yet been forgotten.

A congress was therefore summoned to meet at Berlin, and this result was regarded as a diplomatic victory for Beaconsfield. Most certainly the resolution to reconsider the terms meted out to Turkey was a wise one, for by the Treaty of St. Stefano such a confiscation of territories was contemplated, that the Turkish power in Europe was almost threatened with annihilation.¹ Had this confiscation been completely carried out, the Porte must have taken the earliest opportunity for revenge, and Eastern Europe would have remained even more restless than France after the cession of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871.

Alexander has to submit to their reconsideration at the Congress of Berlin, June, 1878.

Immediately preceding the Congress of Berlin the British government secretly signed a treaty with the sultan, by which she undertook the protection of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, in return for the promise of valid reforms, and the cession in semi-sovereignty of Cyprus to Great Britain.

Secret Treaty between Great Britain and Turkey, June, 1878.

After a month of argument the Congress reached a definite settlement, and the Treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13th. Roumania, which had been autonomous since 1858, now ceased to pay tribute to Turkey, while Serbia and Montenegro also

Treaty of Berlin, July, 1878.

¹ It was proposed to create a huge autonomous but tributary state under the name of Bulgaria, with boundaries reaching from the Black Sea to the Aegean. This would have divided the remaining European possessions of the sultan into two separate parts; Albania would have been completely cut off from the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Serbia and Montenegro were also to receive a considerable increase of territory by the Treaty of St. Stefano. In all these particulars the terms arranged at Berlin were more tolerable for the Porte. But in 1885 there arose disturbances in Eastern Roumelia, which ended in that province becoming an integral part of the principality of Bulgaria. This cannot, however, be adduced as a proof that the final treaty had been a failure, for when Turkey lost Eastern Roumelia, the ruling principle of 1878 remained the same, the area of its operation was merely extended.

became completely independent. Bulgaria proper became autonomous, but was to be tributary to Turkey, nor was it to include Eastern Roumelia and its provisions. Macedonia, as had been intended by the Treaty of St. Stefano. Macedonia remained an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, and Eastern Roumelia obtained some administrative autonomy with the boon of a Christian governor, but was to remain subject to the Porte. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. Russia not only kept Kars and Batoum in Asia, but also regained her position on the Danube by the cession of Bessarabia from Roumania. The Porte was recommended to give Greece a new and improved frontier, but no agreement was come to on this subject until 1880, when a further conference met, and pressure was brought to bear upon the sultan, with the result that Thessaly was ceded to Greece in 1881.

The Treaty of Berlin seemed to have settled the whole Eastern Question satisfactorily. It had prevented Turkey from being too much weakened in face of her powerful neighbour, it had brought Austria nearer Turkey as a counterpoise to Russia, and it had satisfied the national aspirations of several peoples in the Balkans. Finally, the newly-created kingdoms might turn out to be a useful set of buffer states to check the advance of Russia. This last consideration probably did not present itself to the statesmen at Berlin, who regarded the newly-formed states as completely Russophile. Subsequent events, however, have shown that they—particularly Bulgaria—were not willing to become mere satellites, much less provinces, of Russia, and their rapid growth in prosperity

Criticism of the Treaty.

A satisfactory settlement.

¹ Roumania received the Dobruja as compensation, yet she remained very indignant at the loss of Bessarabia.

may so strengthen them, that they will in the future be able to stand alone, and be able to indefinitely postpone Russia's march to Constantinople. Such a consummation seems desirable in the interests of the balance of power. The Treaty of Berlin, therefore, may turn out to be a more effectual safeguard of peace than the Treaty of Paris, and, strange though it may seem, the successes of the war of 1877 may have gained no more for Russia than the losses of the Crimea.

Conclusion of
survey of the
Eastern Question.

Since that time no great developments have taken place in the East, but the Eastern Question is by no means dead. It merely slumbers, and great issues remain to be solved, unless the Turkish Empire can renew its youth.

CHAPTER XI

THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA, AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

Prussia, now the acknowledged head of a revived German Empire, is the youngest of the great European states. Its origin is peculiar, for the nucleus of the kingdom of Prussia was no part of Prussia proper, but the district of Brandenburg, in the north centre of Germany. The Margravate or Marquisate of Brandenburg dates from the tenth century, and the chief task of the margraves was to resist the invasion of the neighbouring Wends, a wild and barbarous people of Slavonic race. But the real importance of the principality only dates from the twelfth century, when Albert the Bear, a warrior margrave, was made one of the seven electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Then in the

Short sketch of
history of
Brandenburg and
Prussia prior to
their union.

fifteenth century the Emperor 'Sigismund sold Brandenburg to the family of Hohenzollern, another member of which became grand-master of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia a century later. These knights were a military order somewhat similar to the Templars or Hospitallers; they had been settled in the wilds of Prussia, as an outpost against Slav barbarians, and at the Reformation they became Protestant, giving their grand-master, Albert of Hohenzollern, the title of duke. The two branches of the House of Hohenzollern shortly made a treaty that in the event of either branch of the family becoming extinct, the other should inherit its possessions. In 1618 the Prussian line did fail, so that Prussia and Brandenburg were united under the Elector George of Brandenburg, who found the task of governing his divided dominions an extremely hard one.¹

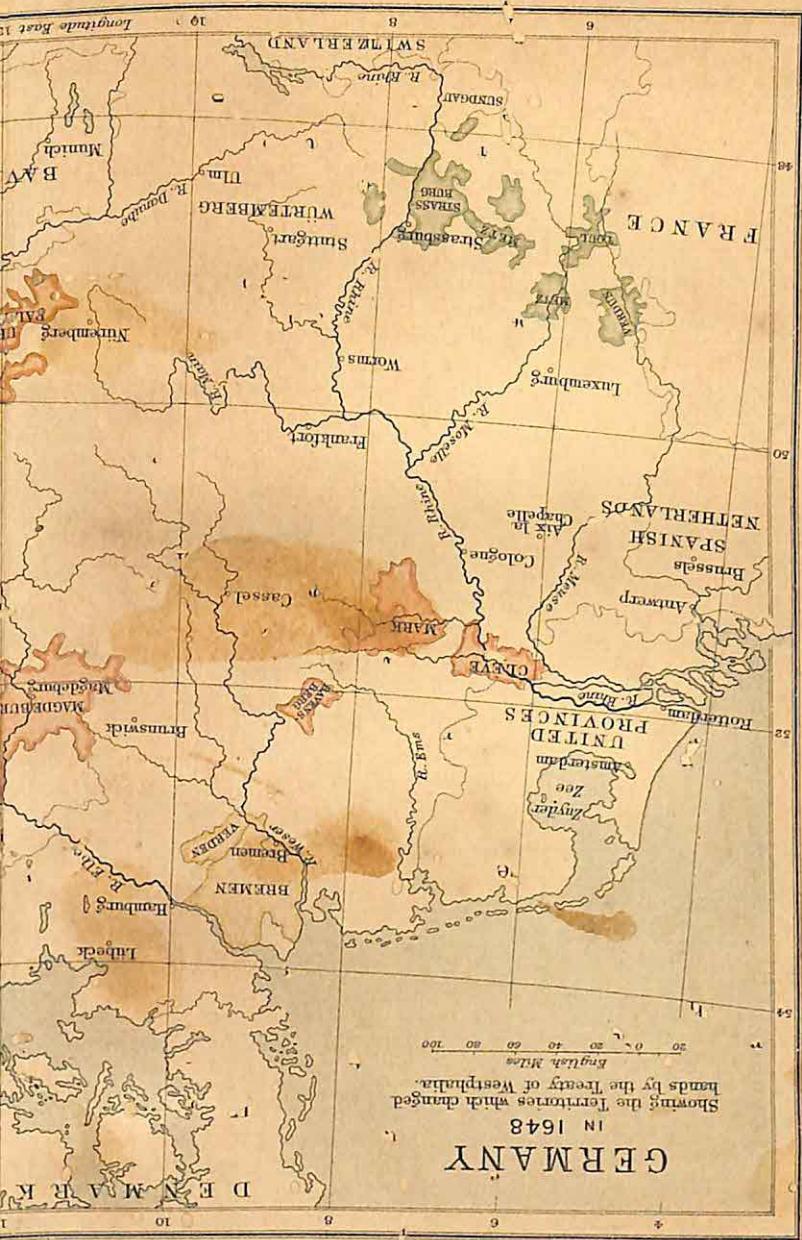
His successor, the Elector Frederick William, commonly called the Great Elector, was the pioneer of modern Prussia, and was the first of the electors who really made himself felt in European politics. During his long reign of forty-eight years he greatly developed the resources of his country, and established such a strong personal government as alone could hold together his scattered dominions. He also considerably enlarged his boundaries at the Treaty of Westphalia, the most notable additions being Eastern Pomerania and Magdeburg. This was the reward for the help—half-hearted though it had been—he had lent to the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War.

**The Great
Elector,
1640-88.**

He was succeeded by the Elector Frederick, a lavish and cultured man with no great capacity for ruling, who in return for joining the grand

¹ They were divided from each other by a piece of Poland. Technically the Elector of Brandenburg was Duke of East Prussia, from 1318 until 1701, when the Elector Frederick assumed the title of king. When Prussia was united to Brandenburg the King of Poland still held suzerain rights over the duchy.





alliance against France received the title of King of Prussia in 1701.¹

His son, King Frederick William I, has been called the second founder of Prussia. He certainly laid the foundations of her strength, and stamped his mark indelibly upon the administration of the country. A man of vast activity and pertinacity, he pursued certain well-defined aims relentlessly throughout his life. Rigid economy, pitiless autocracy, and military organization were his gods. He drilled his troops as only Prussian troops would endure being drilled, and he ruled his people with an iron rod, superintending and regulating like a drill-sergeant all the minutiae of the nation's life. The country, he determined, must become self-sufficing, therefore every one must work, and idlers must be inexorably punished. These ideas, harmless in themselves, become dangerous and absurd when carried to extremes, and Frederick William carried everything to extremes. His government and eccentricity. His passion for discipline became a mania; he walked about beating idlers and loungers with his own hands; he treated his own family with the greatest tyranny, throwing dishes at his daughters when at dinner, and flogging his son and heir without mercy on the slightest provocation. His most characteristic mania was a craving for tall guardsmen. By the most unscrupulous means he collected together from all parts of Europe tall men, and formed them into a regiment called the Potsdam Guards, which he himself drilled with the greatest punctilio every day. But though Frederick William was personally amiable, though he interfered unjustifiably with the souls and intellects of his people, yet he made his nation a nation of workers with an assured

¹ No German prince could of his own free-will change his title, much less assume a higher one, without the assent of the emperor.

future before them, and on his death in 1740 he left his son a well-organized estate, a well-filled treasury, and a splendid army of eighty thousand men. His drudgery had made the expansion of Prussia immediately possible, and his son, Frederick II, or the Great, made full use of the materials which were ready to his hand.

He greatly helped
to strengthen
Prussia.

Frederick II as king was a complete change from Frederick the crown-prince. Addicted to music, philosophy, and literature, he had led as easy a life as his father had

Frederick II,
called the Great,
1740-86.

permitted, but on mounting the throne he showed himself to possess, besides the literary bent, a quite unsuspected talent for war and administration, united to an industry almost unique in the history of kings.

His first acts by their wisdom and liberality made a most favourable impression upon the country. He disbanded the Potsdam giants, whose use had not been proportioned to their size; he relaxed the censorship of the press, abolished the use of torture, and proclaimed complete toleration for all religions. But little time, however, was given him to effect reforms, for the death of the Emperor Charles VI five months after Frederick's accession suddenly turned his attention to foreign politics, and afforded a precious opportunity of territorial expansion. Charles, who left no son, had spent the greater part of his reign in trying to extract from the various European powers a recognition of the right of his daughter Maria Theresa to succeed him in all his hereditary dominions, this recognition being entitled the Pragmatic Sanction. After much labour and endless negotiations, to which Carlyle aptly gives

Excellence of his
initial decrees.

Accession of
Maria Theresa,
1740.

the name "the 'Kaiser's' Shadow Hunt", all the more important princes promised acquiescence, The Pragmatic Sanction. Frederick William of Prussia amongst them. But of late years a cloud had come between the courts of Vienna and the Berlin, and the Hohenzollerns had a real grievance against Charles in connection with certain right of succession to the duchies of Jülich and Berg. Frederick William had regarded himself and heirs as having the first claim Prussian claims to Jülich and Berg. to succession in these duchies in the likely event of the reigning family becoming extinct, and Charles in return for acquiescence in the Pragmatic Sanction had recognized the justice of these claims. But afterwards, having ceased to care about conciliating Frederick William, he had employed his privilege as emperor to alienate these rights. Now Frederick II on the death of Charles had an excellent opportunity of pressing these claims, but he chose instead to prefer against Maria Theresa an old claim which his ancestors had had to the greater portion of Silesia. Frederick lays claim to Silesia. Silesia would round off the Prussian territories far more neatly than Jülich and Berg, and it seemed probable that the helpless young queen would immediately yield to his demands. The claim in itself was not worth much, for lapse of time had weakened whatever validity it had once possessed. No one seemed more conscious of this weakness than Frederick himself, for, having stated his claim, he marched his army into Silesia, without awaiting Invasion of Silesia, Dec. 1740. the answer of the queen. Where reason was unsound, armed force might, he thought, frighten her into submission. Whatever we may say about Frederick's morality in reviving these claims at such a moment, it cannot be doubted that by drawing the sword in the midst of diplomacy he committed a grave breach of

international morality.¹ The statesmen of the time, however, were markedly deficient in honest political dealing, so that Frederick's action simply stands as a prominent instance of eighteenth-century unscrupulousness.

But at least it was completely successful. In a few months his troops overran Silesia, and when at last, in the spring of 1741, an Austrian army advanced to meet him, it was defeated at Mollwitz by the steady persistence of the Prussian infantry.² Mollwitz was the signal for a general explosion throughout Europe. France and Bavaria resolved not to let pass the opportunity of robbing the hated House of Hapsburg, while England, as of old, sided with Austria against France. The coalition against Maria Theresa was gradually swollen by the addition of Spain, Saxony, and Sardinia, and fighting went on in Germany, Flanders, and Italy for the course of seven years. The whole war is called the Austrian Succession War, whilst Frederick's share in it is usually spoken of separately as the first and second Silesian wars. The vast extent of the explosion fixes a heavy weight of responsibility on Frederick, for in the language of Macaulay, "in order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend,"³ black men fought each other on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America". In other words, France and England, finding themselves ranged

Battle of Mollwitz, 1741.

The war spreads and becomes European.

Silesian War merges in Austrian Succession War, 1740-48.

Frederick's responsibility.

¹ A breach of international morality or etiquette according to the ideas of most civilized times, but perhaps hardly a breach of eighteenth-century morality, as the dealings of statesmen in that age were peculiarly Machiavellian.

² The Prussian cavalry had been routed, and Frederick, thinking the battle irretrievably lost, had fled from the field, but the successful resistance of the infantry saved the day. The persistent discipline enforced by Frederick William was at last plainly justified.

³ His father at least had acquiesced in the Pragmatic Sanction, and Frederick was really bound by his father's act.

on opposite sides, fought another round of the century-long duel for colonial and maritime supremacy in the East and West.

In June, 1741, Frederick formally allied himself with France, Bavaria, and Saxony, but the operations of these powers were so successful that he, always jealous of French interference in Germany, made a secret treaty with Maria Theresa

His second breach of faith, Oct. 1741.

(at Klein-Schnellendorf) in October of the same year. By this treaty Lower Silesia with the important fortress of Neisse was placed in his hands; hitherto he had only had firm hold of Upper Silesia. Having thus gained his

His third breach of faith. He actively re-enters the Coalition, Dec. 1741.

object, he thought it wise to re-enter the Coalition, especially as information about the secret treaty had leaked out. Unjustly charging Maria Theresa with having given this information to the world, he treated her as he had lately treated the allies, and within two months of the treaty once more launched his armies upon the empress-queen.

The next and fourth period of the war lasted five months. After gaining the victory of Chotusitz (May, 1742) Frederick sought peace, and at last, by the Treaty of Berlin, he obtained through English mediation the *bona fide* cession of Silesia. He only sought the peaceful enjoyment of his spoils, and had no wish to help forward the aggrandizement of France, so that his withdrawal from the war can be fully justified in the interests of Prussia and of Germany.

Treaty of Berlin ends First Silesian War, July, 1742.

For two years he remained neutral, ready at any instant to strike should the balance on either side incline too low. In the summer of 1744 his safety seemed again threatened by Austrian triumphs, for the armies of the

Frederick neutral, July, 1742—Aug. 1744.

empress-queen had overrun Bavaria, and had subjected the French to a disastrous mid-winter retreat from Bohemia, while English troops had won a great victory over the French at Dettingen, in Germany (1743).

Frederick's fourth change of front was, however, of no immediate service to him. Caught amongst the mountains of Bohemia, he received a severe lesson in the art of war at the hands of Marshal Traun. Escaping thence with difficulty, he was pursued into Silesia by the Austrians, but the two victories of Hohenfrieberg and Sohr in the year 1745 brought matters down to the old level again. Frederick's grip on Silesia was tight, and Maria Theresa, recognizing this indisputable fact, gave way to the representations of English statesmen, and once more made peace with Frederick. The Peace of Dresden, which ended the Second Silesian War, gave Frederick all he wanted, but in return for the full sovereignty over Silesia he guaranteed all Maria Theresa's dominions and acknowledged her husband Francis to be Emperor.

The other powers continued fighting until 1748, but as it is our purpose to treat specially of Frederick and the growth of Prussia, the surrounding war may be dismissed in a few sentences. It had become more and more a double duel, first between France and Austria in Europe, second between France and England in the colonies. Holland and Sardinia had early in the war ranged themselves on the side of Austria, while Bavaria made peace in 1745, so that France and Spain were left fighting against four powers. The natural results of such a struggle followed: (1) France was successful in

Continued Austrian successes in 1743 lead to Second Silesian War. Begins Aug. 1744.

Battles of Sohr and Hohenfrieberg, 1745.

Treaty of Dresden ends Second Silesian War, Dec. 1745.

Remainder of the Austrian Succession War.

Character of the struggle.

the Netherlands, where she kept vast armies under Marshal Saxe, one of the greatest generals of the age; (2) Austria and Sardinia were successful in Italy; (3) England was successful at sea and in the colonies.¹ At last in 1748 peace was made on the principle of the *status quo*. The conquests on both sides had so nearly equalled each other that with few exceptions² a restitution of conquests seemed the course which best promised a continued peace. And yet to our eyes it is clear that a truce was all which could be expected at this time. For Austria, having well escaped from the direst peril, realized her vast strength and could never rest until she had reconquered Silesia. On the other hand, France had constantly shown herself unable to refrain from pursuing a double policy of ambition, a policy of European conquest and of colonial expansion, which remained a continual danger to the peace of Europe. In the midst of this century of war and rumours of war a breathing space of nearly ten years came as a great boon to the whole civilized world, and whilst these years are passing let us take note of Frederick the king and the administrator, seeing how and with what will he worked in the arts of peace.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

Most conquests of both sides restored.

But peace could not last long.

There were two sides to Frederick's character. A musician, a poetaster, a litterateur he passed his evenings in the literary converse of a few choice friends, but his days he dedicated to unremitting toil. Following in the footsteps of his father, he strove to place his kingdom in the forefront of European nations,

Frederick's versatility.

¹ With the exception of India, where, under the brilliant administration of Dupleix, the prestige of the French arms remained superior to that of the English. Madras even had been captured in 1746.

² Exceptions: (1) Acquisition of Silesia by Prussia; (2) various small acquisitions in Italy by the King of Sardinia and Don Philip, second son of the King of Spain.

and this he accomplished by the double agency of ad-
His reforms ministration and war. By sheer hard work
in Prussia. he perfected administration, doubled prosper-
 ity, and effected extraordinary economies, while he
 brought the military organization to a pitch of excellence
 not dreamt of by his brother kings. By these means,
 added to his own genius as a captain, Prussia was able
 to stand alone against a host of enemies, to bear the
 strain of a terrible war, and to recover from her losses
 with comparative rapidity and ease.

Notice more in detail some of the achievements of his
 administration. He carried the numbers of his army to
Particulars of 160,000 men, a number so extraordinary for
these reforms. the size of the country that every seventh
 able-bodied man was a soldier. He surpassed his father
 in the enthusiasm with which he drained marshes, en-
 couraged building and agriculture, planted new indus-
 tries, stimulated every kind of useful labour. He con-
 trived that his subjects should enjoy a fair and speedy
 execution of justice, abolished torture, and laid the foun-
 dation of a new code. He permitted considerable liberty
 of political and religious thought, conciliating the Silesian
 Catholics by his toleration, and welcoming in his do-
 minions the Jesuits, who had been hounded out of every
 Roman Catholic country.

Not only did he inaugurate reforms of such variety
 and scope, but he personally superintended every branch
Frederick as an of ordinary administration. Rising at
administrator. three in summer and four in winter, he
 waded through a sea of correspondence whilst the
 world was still asleep, and he personally dealt with the
 minutest departmental matters. Other kings, such as
 Philip II of Spain and Louis XIV of France, have been
 their own prime ministers, but in the words of Macaulay
 "Frederick was his own sole minister". The habit of

distrust grew upon him with years, he developed a gigantic capacity for meddling, and a meddlesome man of less acute intelligence and power of work would have wrecked the state. As it was, he often courted failure by over-interference with matters where an expert knowledge was required; but this is a simple vice to set beside such great achievements. It was only after he was dead that the evil of such methods became apparent: for intense centralization creates an atmosphere of mechanical subordination in which statesmanship cannot grow and thrive, and inevitably the weak monarch follows who for lack of statesmen meets with disaster. The state whose political energies are distributed has usually the robuster life.

Had too great a tendency to interference.

While Frederick was thus intensely occupied with government, the international politics of Europe were undergoing a great change. An important shifting of alliances was taking place.

Change in the system of alliances, 1748-56.

Maria Theresa, animated by an undying hatred of Frederick, was finding in France the most willing coadjutor in revenge, while England, whose friendship with Austria had long been cooling, was prepared to seek the alliance of Prussia in anticipation of the next European war. These changes were gradual, but they brought about a system far more natural and reasonable than the last. England had little wish to serve Austria in a long war of revenge, while France with her longing for interference in Germany felt that success might the more likely attend her efforts if she joined in crushing the upstart Prussia, than if she neglected the lessons of the last war by again attempting the dismemberment of the Austrian dominions. Besides, Louis XV and his all-powerful mistress, La Pompadour, stung by

Reasons why France allied herself with Austria against Frederick, 1756.

the satirical lampoons of the poet king, found a link with the empress-queen in the hatred they all bore him. A formal alliance was therefore arranged between Austria and France, but Frederick, discovering the rapprochement, had already in the beginning of 1756, by the Treaty of Westminister, closed with the offer of England's friendship. Thus France and England as usual found themselves on opposite sides, and indeed fighting had been going on in America between the colonists of the two powers since 1750. England was the natural foe of France in the eighteenth century, so that Louis and his ministers would have been well advised had they altogether kept out of the European entanglement and devoted their whole strength to the colonial struggle, both in America and India. As it was, by attempting to do one, they failed in both.

The war began in 1756, and lasted a ^{little} ^{more} than seven years' War. It received accordingly the name of the Seven Years' War. It extended over an even wider area than the last war, and no less than four powers joined the Franco-Austrian coalition with the object of partitioning Prussia. These were Saxony, Russia, Sweden, and the Empire, while in addition the Spanish king, Charles, in 1761 brought his country to the assistance of his cousin the King of France. Frederick was literally surrounded by enemies, and England, his only ally, was too occupied with the colonial war to be of any considerable help to him in Germany, though she did indeed keep up a small army in Hanover, and paid Frederick an annual subsidy of nearly £700,000.¹ But the Prussian king was his own best ally, and his

¹ But this was not definitely arranged until 1758, after Pitt's accession to power.

great mind rose superior to the most overwhelming difficulties. Never did he seem so truly great as in the midst of the most appalling misfortunes.

The first year's campaign was satisfactory to Prussia. Frederick, hearing of the danger he was in, overran Saxony in August, 1756, took Dresden, and there secured a bundle of state papers amply

Campaign
of 1756.

proving that he was the victim of a vast conspiracy.

Defeating an Austrian army of relief at the battle of Lobowitz, Frederick detached Saxony from the Coalition; for

Frederick detaches
Saxony from
the Coalition.

the royal family fled to Poland¹ and the army of the electorate capitulated. Henceforth he treated Saxony as a part of his own dominions, levying contributions of men and money during the remainder of the war.

The year 1757 was bound to be a decisive one for Frederick, as his enemies were preparing to pour 430,000 men into the field against him. But Russia and Sweden would take some time to move, and

Campaign
of 1757.

France was sending her armies to meet the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded a mixed British and German army in Hanover. Frederick, therefore, was free to deal with Austria alone, and he felt that a vigorous stroke at the beginning might hold her back.

Marching straight into Bohemia, he attacked a large Austrian force outside Prague and

Battle of
Prague (May).

defeated it in one of the bloodiest battles of the war.

He then began the siege of Prague, and advanced with the greater portion of his army to meet a second Austrian force under Marshal Daun. That cautious general,

Siege of
Prague.

however, excelled in defensive warfare, and Frederick hurled his gallant Prussians in vain against an almost impregnable position at Kolin, losing 13,000 men

¹ Augustus, Elector of Saxony, was also King of Poland. The crown of Poland was elective.

before he gave up the contest. The precarious condition of Prussia at this moment can scarcely be exaggerated. Frederick was forced to raise the siege of Prague, and hurry as best he could out of Bohemia. The defeat at Kolin was shortly followed by the defeat of the incompetent Duke of Cumberland,¹ and a capitulation signed by that general set free all the French armies to attack Frederick. The enemies were now advancing on all sides, and Frederick had fits of depression so intense that he seriously contemplated suicide. But, beaten down by despair though he was, he would not abandon the struggle, and the greatness of the man, his marvellous activity and boldness, shone out all the clearer in the midst of gloom. "At the beginning of November the net seemed to have closed completely round him. The Russians were in the field, and were spreading devastation through his eastern provinces. Silesia was overrun by the Austrians. A great French army was advancing from the west under the command of Marshal Soubise. Berlin itself had been taken and plundered by the Croats. Such was the situation from which Frederick extricated himself, with dazzling glory, in the short space of thirty days."²

It was Frederick's object to attack the army of Soubise³ in Thuringia before a second French army, which was mustered under D'Estrées, could come to its aid. Marching west with great speed, Frederick crossed the Saale at Leipzig, and on November 4th took up his

Battle of Kolin (June).

Frederick in a precarious condition.

Frederick's brilliant fighting at the end of 1757.

Marches to attack French army in Thuringia.

¹ The Royal Butcher of Culloden fame. He was defeated at Hastenbeck, and signed the convention of Closter-Seven, by which he promised to disband his army. Hanover and Brunswick were thus virtually surrendered to the French.

² From Macaulay's Essay on Frederick the Great.

³ Soubise commanded an army of 60,000 men. Most of them were French, but there were also a number of imperial troops, heterogeneous and ill-disciplined.

position at Rossbach, opposite Mûcheln, where Soubise's army lay. Rossbach lies in a "dull circular lump of country six or eight miles in diameter, washed on south and east by the Saale, like a big saucer". There are two low hills to the east of Rossbach, the Janus Hill and the Polzen Hill: they both played an important part in the battle.¹ Soubise and his comrades, hearing of Frederick's whereabouts, marched out to meet him in the early morning of November 5th. Greatly underrating the strength of him whom they mockingly called "the little Marquis of Brandenburg", they thought to easily march round him, and take him in front, flank, and rear at once. They marched slowly and haltingly, exultant at the prospect of the coming victory. Meanwhile Frederick, his army screened by the undulating nature of the country, waited until their objective was made plain to him. Having detected it, he at 2.30 ordered his men to march eastwards, and intercept the enemies' movement by taking them in flank. Seidlitz, a dashing cavalry officer, made for the Polzen Hill with 4000 horse, there to form the left flank of the new Prussian position. Soubise, supposing the Prussians to be fleeing towards the river, hurried up 7000 cavalry to climb the Polzen Hill and cut off their flight. But Seidlitz was just in time. He reached the top from one side as the French were climbing it on the other. Forming his men, he plunged down upon the unwary French, and tumbled them from the field in half an hour, retiring then to the hollow of Tageswerben to await developments. Frederick meanwhile with the infantry and guns had reached the Janus slope. Emerging on the

Battle of Rossbach, Nov. 5th.

Features of the ground.

Prussians intercept encircling movement of the French, and take them in the flank.

¹ See map in Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, end of Book xviii. This battle we give an account of in detail, as some acquaintance should be made with Frederick's methods of warfare, and Rossbach, besides being perhaps his most famous victory, was a battle very typical of his tactics at their best.

summit, he took Soubise's main army in the flank, gave it no time to form, but played dreadful havoc with big guns and his terrible Prussian musketry. Once in confusion there was no way out of it, for "with regiments jammed in this astonishing way, and got collectively into the lion's throat, what can be done? Steady, rigid as iron clockwork, the Prussian line strides forward: at forty paces distance delivers its first shock of lightning, bursts into platoon fire, and so continues, steady, at the rate of five shots a minute — hard to endure by poor masses all in a coil.

The French driven into confusion by disciplined fire of Prussian line.

Things began to waver very soon, French reeling back from the Prussian fire, Reich's¹ troops rocking very uneasily, torn by such artillery; when to crown the matter, Seidlitz seeing all things rock to the due extent, bursts out of Tageswerber Hollow, terribly compact and furious, upon the rear of them. Which sets all things into inextricable tumble; and the battle is become a rout and a riding into ruin, no battle any more. Lasted twenty-five minutes, this second act of it, or till half-past four, after which night's curtain rapidly descending covers the remainder."²

Cavalry complete the rout.

Soubise lost about 8000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and seventy cannon, whilst the Prussian loss in killed and wounded barely exceeded 500. The armies had been about three to one in size, and Napoleon in his criticisms of the battle may well have been astonished that so small a force had gained such a victory over so vast a multitude.

Having for this season at least rid himself of the French and Imperial armies, Frederick turned his attention towards the east. A vast Austrian army held

¹ I.e. the troops of the Empire.

² Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, Book xviii, chapter viii.

Silesia; during Frederick's absence Breslau had fallen, and his generals had been defeated.

But again his generalship prevailed over the superior numbers of his foes. On

Frederick marches to meet the Austrians in Silesia.

December 5th he attacked and beat the Austrians at Leuthen, exactly a month after the victory of Rossbach. Want of space will prevent a full study of this important battle, but its main features may be briefly outlined.

Battle of Leuthen, Dec. 5th.

On the evening of December 3rd, Frederick addressed at Parchwitz a stirring appeal to his captains, the words of which have been recorded. Having enlarged on the implicit trust he reposed upon his men, he says: "The hour is at hand. . . .

Frederick's speech before the battle.

I should think I had done nothing if I left the Austrians in possession of Silesia. Let me apprise you, then, I intend, in spite of the rules of art, to attack Prince Karl's army, which is nearly thrice our strength, wherever I find it. The question is not of his numbers, or the strength of his position: all this by courage, by the skill of our methods, we will try to make good. This step I must risk, or everything is lost. We must beat the enemy, or perish all of us before his batteries. So I read the case; so I will act in it. . . . I depend on your help, then, and on victory as sure. The cavalry regiment that does not on the instant, on order given, dash full plunge into the enemy, I will directly after the battle unhorse, and make it a garrison regiment. The infantry battalion which, meet with what it may, shows the least sign of hesitating, loses its colours and its sabres, and I cut the trimmings from its uniform. Now, good-night, gentlemen; shortly we have either beaten the enemy, or we never see one another again."¹

On December 4 Frederick marched eastwards towards

¹ Cf. Carlyle, Book xviii, chapter ix.

the enemy's camp, but Prince Charles, scorning to hold a strong position against so inferior an army, came out to fight in the open. The Austrians drew themselves up in a five-mile line right across the road from Neumark to Breslau, near Leuthen village.

The Austrian position.¹

They made redoubts, secured the neighbouring villages, and fortified the woods, but like Soubise at Rossbach, they made the mistake of insufficient scouting. What outposts they had were captured by Frederick, so that he was able to keep them ignorant of his movements and suddenly appear in an unexpected quarter. The idea of the battle was

Frederick attacks their left and drives it back on their centre.

identically that of Rossbach, only here the enemy received the attack at the halt instead of on the move; in other words, the Austrians were not taken at quite such a disadvantage as the French had been at Rossbach. Secretly and rapidly marching his men in two columns, Frederick caught the Austrians on the left wing. Attacking this wing with overwhelming strength, he pushed it back upon the main body, gradually rolling the whole force north, thwarting every effort to re-form. The Austrians doggedly defended every inch of ground, the conflict being especially desperate around Leuthen churchyard. A rash movement of the Austrian cavalry on the right uncovered their flank, and then it was all over with their hopes. Left flank pressed up into the centre, centre utterly tumbled about, right flank turned, what could they do? One more short stand there was at Saara, and then a general rush for Breslau. The battle had lasted three hours; the Austrian loss was thirty thousand men, twenty-one thousand of them prisoners, but in such stiff fighting the Prussians also lost severely. Napoleon

Progress of the fight.

Losses of the Austrians.

¹ See map in Carlyle, end of Book xviii.

calls this battle Frederick's masterpiece. "Of itself it would entitle him to a place in the first rank among generals." He had done with complete success what was so often the outstanding feature of Napoleon's victories, "secretly to concentrate all your strength upon the enemy's weakest point, and shatter it".

Napoleon's criticism of the battle.

Leuthen reconquered Silesia from the Austrians, and left Frederick in the same position as at the beginning of the year. In the following year the Russians began to take a more active part in the war, but Frederick defeated them at Zorndorf, after a desperate ten hours' fight. Within nine months he had beaten each of his foes in turn, but this run of success was followed by a series of reverses, which all but overwhelmed Frederick and his country.

Events of 1758.

The Russians beaten at Zorndorf (August).

After Zorndorf he tried to get past Daun in Saxony in order to relieve the besieged fortress of Neisse in Silesia. But for once the cautious Austrian showed himself capable of rapid movement, and barred Frederick's way at Hochkirch. Frederick, in reckless contempt for his hitherto incapable adversary, allowed himself to be surrounded, and suffered what to any other man would have been an irremediable defeat. But, rallying his army round him, he by a rapid march into Silesia prevented Daun from snatching the fruits of his victory. Having relieved Neisse, he returned by forced marches into Saxony just in time to save the capital from surrendering to the Austrians.

Frederick surrounded at Hochkirch (October).

But rapidly remedies this disaster.

This ended the operations of the year, and in the following year a new phase of the war began. Frederick had hitherto trusted to keep off his enemies by bold offensive strokes; he now let them take the initiative. Daun sent a small army to join the

Operations of 1759.

Russians in Brandenburg and Frederick, failing to attack the Russians before the junction, lost the terrible battle of Kunersdorf. Here he very narrowly escaped capture, and was hurried from the field, meditating self-destruction. But despair only lasted for a moment, and mutual recriminations prevented any successful co-operation between his enemies. Neither did the Russians advance upon Berlin, the road to which was lying open before them, nor did Daun use his superiority of numbers to seize Saxony. Defeats, however, sustained by two of Frederick's generals brought a gloomy end to this year's campaign, and it was only Brunswick's¹ victory of Minden, and the glorious successes of Wolfe in Canada, which shed a ray of light upon the darkness.

In the fifth year Frederick regained his luck; by two victories and the most brilliant marching he still kept his foes at bay. Landohn, Maria Theresa's most enterprising general, was in Silesia, and Daun in Saxony. Marching from Saxony to Silesia, and back to Saxony, Frederick wearied out Daun without fighting an engagement. Then returning to Silesia—100 miles in five days, over five rivers, through woods, and along atrocious roads—he caught and defeated Landohn alone at Leignitz, after which he returned to Saxony and beat Daun at Torgau.

Brilliant campaigning by Frederick.

Battles of Leignitz and Torgau won by him.

These marches exceeded all calculation or example, and the Austrians saw with amazement Frederick's one army doing the work of three. In spite of this year's success,

¹ Ferdinand of Brunswick was commanding an Anglo-German army in Hanover, and gained a series of striking successes against the French in Western Germany. Minden was one of these.

Frederick could not bear up much longer. His country was fast becoming a mere desert; its resources were exhausted by the requisitions of its unyielding king and the ravages of the Swedes and Russians.

The sixth campaign passed without any decisive battle, but Schweidnitz and half Silesia were lost to Frederick, and the net seemed closing round him.

To add to the gloom, Pitt's glorious ministry in England fell, and with the accession of a pacific Tory government

Difficulties increase, but Russians cease to fight against Frederick (1762).

the Anglo-Prussian alliance came to an end. This misfortune, however, was shortly balanced by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, whose successor, Peter, a worshipper of Frederick, made peace with him, and even lent him an army to use against the Austrians. Peter, indeed, reigned only a few months, but this was long enough to give Frederick again the upper hand, and Catharine, Peter's successor, had the wisdom to refrain from re-entering the fruitless coalition.

Meanwhile the peace proposals, which had been mooted every year since 1759, were fast becoming more real. Spain, which in alliance with France had entered the war in 1761, rapidly sustained

Peace of Paris, 1763. (England, France, Spain.)

such colonial losses¹ by the attacks of British fleets that King Charles was eager to extricate himself from the net he had so recklessly entered. France, too, having lost Canada and much of India, acceded to the proposals of the English ministry for peace. The Treaty of Paris settled the affairs of three nations,² and Maria Theresa, being left alone, soon made peace with Frederick on the condition of the *status quo*.

Treaty of Hubertsberg between Prussia and Austria, 1763.

¹ E.g. Cuba and the Philippines.

² The terms were favourable to England, for, although she restored several conquests to France and Spain, she acquired accessions of territory in India, Africa, the West Indies, and North America.

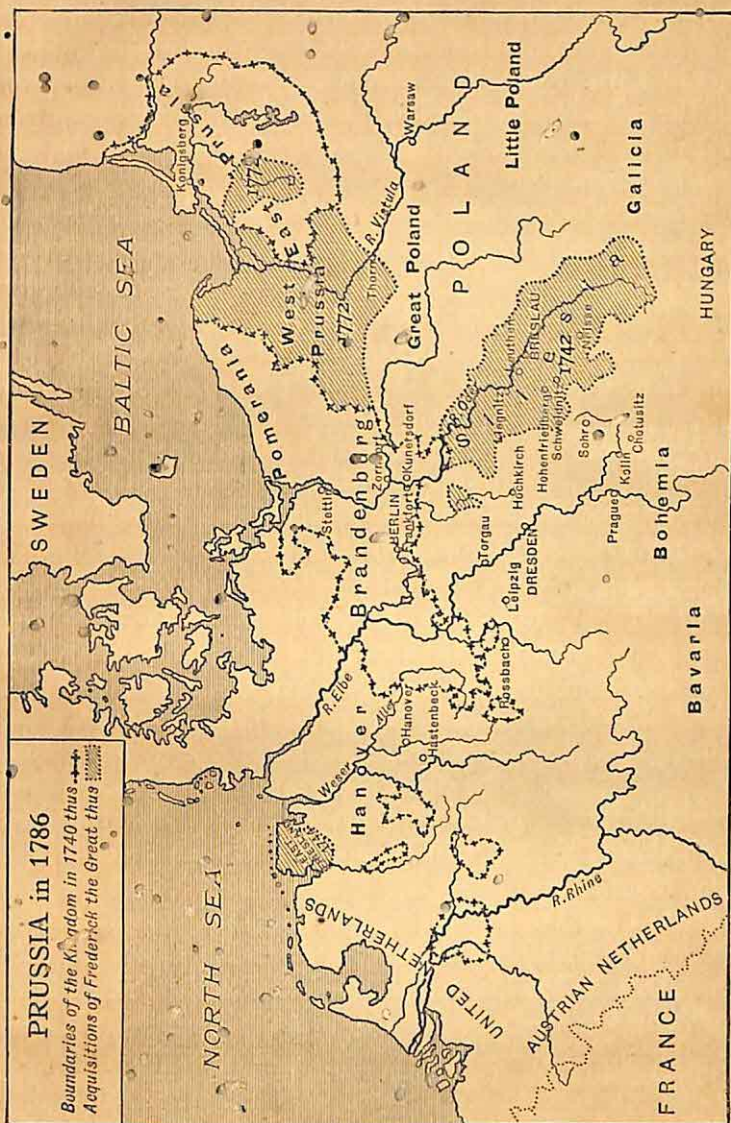
What she had failed to do with the help of two great powers, she could not hope to accomplish by herself. "The king (of Prussia) ceded nothing. The whole continent in arms had proved unable to tear Silesia from that iron grasp."

Frederick returned home to repair a ruined Prussia, to heal ravages almost as terrible as those which accompanied the thirty years' religious war in Germany. In the vivid words of Macaulay we learn that "the fields lay uncultivated.

Frederick's
healing work
in Prussia
after the war.

The very seed corn had been devoured in the madness of hunger. Famine and contagious maladies produced by famine had swept away the herds and flocks; and there was reason to fear that a great pestilence among the human race was likely to follow in the train of that tremendous war. Near fifteen thousand houses had been burned to the ground. The population of the kingdom had in seven years decreased to the frightful extent of ten per cent. A sixth of the males capable of bearing arms had actually perished in the field of battle. In some districts no labourers, except women, were seen in the fields at harvest-time. In others, the traveller passed shuddering through a succession of silent villages, in which not a single inhabitant remained. The currency had been debased; the authority of laws and magistrates had been suspended; the whole social system was deranged."¹ Here was work enough to overwhelm any man, but Frederick was equal to the task. Like a careful estate agent, he laboured ceaselessly to repair the war's ravages, husbanding and economizing at every turn, distributing relief where it was most sorely needed, encouraging all efforts at draining and building, improving agriculture, founding industries which were intended to make the country permanently rich. These last

¹ Cf. Macaulay's Essay on Frederick the Great.



twenty-four years of Frederick's reign, the years of reconstruction and reform, were the years during which his best work was done, and wrapped up though he was in the administration of the state, he yet continued to take that part in foreign politics which his successes entitled him to.

Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II¹ were always the enemy to be guarded against, and on two occasions during this period Frederick had difficulties with Austria. In 1778 and in 1785 Joseph attempted to gain Bavaria in exchange for the Low Countries, but the possession of Bavaria would

Further quarrels
with Austria.

(1) The Bavarian
Succession War,
1778-79.

(2) The Fürsten-
bund, 1785.

have made Austria too powerful in Germany, so Frederick refused to tolerate the proposal. On the first occasion he went to war with Austria, but before any decisive action was fought Russian intercession arranged the matter amicably. On the second occasion Joseph's repetition of the obnoxious proposal was met by a league of German princes (the Fürstenbund), got together by the resolute Frederick, and Joseph, checkmated once again, abandoned his cherished plan during the lifetime of his dangerous antagonist. The only other important event in the last phase of Frederick's life was the first partition of Poland, which he was instrumental in bringing about. By arranging a partition of half Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, he prevented that large and anarchical country from being entirely swallowed up by the insatiable greed of Russia. The whole affair was most dexterously conducted by Frederick, and

The first partition
of Poland, 1772.

¹ Joseph II was a monarch of great reforming zeal. But his impatience and want of judgment frustrated almost all his efforts. He too often "built the second story before the first". Maria Theresa died in 1780, and Joseph only survived her ten years. During the last fifteen years of his mother's life Joseph had been associated with her in the government.

the result, granted that the loss of Polish independence was inevitable, not only became a material benefit to Prussia, but prevented Russia from menacing the balance of power by an undue acquisition of territory in Europe.

In the year 1786 Frederick died, worn out by the excessive labours of a long and arduous life. He had raised Prussia to the rank of one of the great powers, and he had laid his foundations so deep that his work was never completely undone, even by Napoleon. It was in no small degree due to Frederick that within a century of his death Prussia was able to grasp at the supremacy of Germany, and that the Prussian king, William I, was enabled to become head of a new and powerful German Empire.

Frederick's death, 1786.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER XII

GROWTH AND FALL OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

The government of France had in the eighteenth century been so bad, taxation to fill a ruined treasury had become so severe, and the condition of the peasantry was felt to be so intolerable, that in 1789 there broke out in Paris a revolution, which aimed (1) at improving the condition of the people by the abolition of oppressive class privileges; (2) at making the government more capable and more equitable by giving the people some share in it through a parliament. During the first three years of the Revolution many changes in this direction were made, some good, some bad, some satisfactorily moderate, others too excessively sweeping. As time went on, the extreme revolutionaries, commonly called the Jacobins, or the

The French Revolution and its aims.

Begins 1789.

Rise of the Jacobins.

Mountain,¹ obtained a préponderating influence in the state, and then was seen what rabid zeal, untempered by wisdom and discipline, could accomplish. The Jacobins

**The Convention,
1792-95.**

were not contented with the settlement of 1789-91, and they signalized their rise to power in 1792 by establishing the Convention, an assembly which soon entrusted its power to a committee of irresponsible enthusiasts, the Committee of Public Safety. No sooner had the Jacobins usurped all power

**Beginning of the
Terror, Sept. 1792.**

than they inaugurated a reign of terror more fearful than the proscriptions of Marius or Sulla.² They threatened and imprisoned the king, abolished monarchy, and put to death all those who by class, intellect, or feeling were associated with royalty and the old régime. In these massacres neither women, children, nor the aged were spared.

The dangerous influence of the Revolution had been for some time very apparent to the old monarchies of

**First coalition of
powers against
France, 1792.**

Europe, who sympathized deeply with Louis, and who dreaded lest the unwelcome flood should pour over the French

borders and submerge their countries. So a coalition of powers was organized to reinstate the French king and to curb the insolence of the democrats. The great war began in June, 1792, three months before the Terror, and it continued with slight interruptions until Waterloo, twenty-three years later. Events contributed more and more to justify this coalition. The Terror con-

**Aggressive policy
of the Convention.**

tinued to shock Europe with its horrors. The Jacobins caused still further provocation by carrying their views of equality, liberty, fraternity beyond the boundaries of France. They sup-

¹ This name arose from the high position of the seats on which the Jacobins sat in the assembly. They were high up on the extreme left.

² Cf. Chapter i.

ported their gospel by armed force in Belgium, they promised assistance to every people who should rise against its government, and they swore "to hurl upon England fifty thousand caps of liberty". Finally, threatened by danger from without, they tried to strengthen their hands at home by making the government openly republican, and by the execution of Louis (January, 1793) they pledged themselves irrevocably to the extreme policy which was being pursued.

Execution of Louis XVI, Jan. 1793.

Notwithstanding the concentration of all power in the hands of a select few—the Committee of Public Safety—France at first suffered severe defeats from the enemies who were pressing her on every side. But by the end of 1793 thirteen armies of 750,000 men in all had driven back the disunited forces of the foes, whilst Robespierre made himself Dictator at Paris, and carried out the Terror with a more systematic brutality than his predecessors. It was in this year that young Buonaparte's name first appears, in connection with a successful siege of Toulon, which fortress had for some time been held by English and Royalist forces.

The war in 1793.

Robespierre in power, 1793-94.

In 1794 Robespierre fell before a combination of enemies, and was guillotined. His fall brought the Terror to an end, and was therefore hailed with universal joy. During this year the French armies continued their victorious career, and the result of the year's campaign was stated as follows:—"Eight pitched battles gained, one hundred and sixteen towns and two hundred and thirty forts taken, ninety thousand prisoners, and three thousand eight hundred cannon captured". On all sides there were acquisitions to be recorded. Belgium and Holland had been easily overrun and occupied, the Rhine

End of the Terror. Great victories of the French, 1794.

boundaries had been gained, and in the south both Savoy and Nice and a portion of Piedmont had been conquered.

In 1795 Prussia, with most of the north and central German states, made peace with France, an example which Spain followed shortly after. But Austria, England, and some of the minor powers continued the war uninterruptedly.

Several powers
abandon the
Coalition, 1795.

In this year the Convention came to an end, and handed on its powers to a new government, called the Directory, but it was decreed that two-thirds of the new assembly

The Directory
replaces the Con-
vention, 1795.

should be chosen from amongst the members of the Convention. The opponents of the existing government, whether Royalist or Terrorist, irritated by this tampering with the freedom of elections, determined to rise, and the young artillery officer, Buonaparte, had to be sent for to sweep the streets with cannon.

Napoleon Buonaparte was born in 1769 in Corsica. His father, Charles Marie de Buonaparte, belonged to

Parentage and
early life of
Napoleon Buona-
parte, 1769-79.

a noble Tuscan family which had settled in Corsica in the sixteenth century. In

1765 Charles married Letitia Ramolino, a beautiful Corsican, and by her had thirteen children, of whom eight survived. According to the received opinion, Napoleon was the second son, Joseph, afterwards the king of Spain, being the eldest. Napoleon's extraordinary energy and strength of endurance must have been largely derived from his mother a woman of great character and remarkable longevity. Strange to say, he showed no very great intellectual precocity as a child; his character developed earlier than his mind.

His military
education,
1779-85.

His education was essentially military. He was first at a military school in Brienne, then he attended one at Paris. He became lieutenant at the

age of sixteen, and in the intervals of leisure essayed authorship, and paid visits to his Corsican home at Ajaccio. When the French Revolution brought civil strife to Corsica,¹ Napoleon severed himself from the policy of his family and supported the Revolution against the monarchical party. The Revolution at first made a fairly satisfactory settlement in the island, but the second Revolution

The Corsican period of his life, 1785-93.

of 1792 had more doubtful benefits to offer. Many Corsicans took up arms, and, led by the great patriot Paoli, tried to cast off the yoke of France. Napoleon, formerly the friend and associate of Paoli, now turned against him, and strove hard

Corsica and the Revolution.

to prevent the severance of the French connection. But he seemed to be on the losing side, and after an ineffectual attempt by him to seize the citadel at Ajaccio, the whole Buonaparte family emigrated to France. The Corsican

Emigration of the Buonapartes to France.

period was now over, and Napoleon turned his attention to affairs in France. Arrived on French soil, he assisted the Convention in stamping out resistance in Provence. We hear of him first at Avignon, and then at Toulon in the summer of 1793. Next he had some diplomatic experience in Italy. All this time he

Does military and diplomatic work in France and Italy, 1793-95.

was somewhat closely associated with the Robespierres, and at the fall of the great dictator in Thermidor (July, 1794) he had rather a narrow escape. But from this time forward fortune favoured him, and the road to fame lay clear before him.

His success at Vendimiaire (Oct. 1795) in putting down the revolt, which the origin of the

Oct. 1795. Puts down a revolt in Paris.

Directory gave rise to, brought his name before the popular ear, and helped forward his career.

¹ Corsica had been bought by France from the Genoese Republic in 1768.

As a reward he was shortly offered the command of the army of Italy,¹ which was faced by superior numbers of Austrians and Piedmontese. He ad-

Buonaparte takes command in Italy, 1796.

dresssed his soldiers in these memorable words: "Soldiers, I am to lead you into

the most fertile plains of the world. There you will find honour, glory, and riches." He lost no time in attacking the enemy, and by five successive battles (April, 1796) he forced back his two opponents on divergent lines of retreat. Within sixteen days Sar-

His successful campaign against Sardinia and Austria.

denia made peace, leaving Napoleon free to hurl his whole strength upon the Austrians.

Then by the victory of Lodi he cleared Lombardy of the Austrians and proceeded to besiege the strong fortress of Mantua. Several Austrian armies of reinforcement approached Mantua, but Napoleon met and defeated them at the battles of Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli. Mantua at last surrendered (February, 1797), and Napoleon drove the Austrians across the Alps, and dictated preliminaries of peace at Leoben, within two days' march of Vienna. The peace which followed was called the Treaty of Campo Formio, and it brought to an end the first Coalition. Venice was

Peace of Campo Formio, 1797.

given to Austria, but the Cisalpine Republic, just formed by Napoleon in Northern Italy, was recognized by the Emperor Francis, and the possession of Belgium was confirmed to France.²

Napoleon now returned full of glory to Paris, and after crushing another attempt at revolution made by

¹ The French armies at this time received their names from the country or province where they were stationed, or against which they were fighting, *e.g.* army of the Rhine, of Holland, of England, &c.

² Belgium had belonged to Austria since 1713, and the cession of Venetia—a strip of which was added to the Cisalpine Republic—was regarded as a compensation to the emperor for the loss of Belgium.

the royalists, he set sail on his Egyptian Expedition. His main object was to seize the best position on the road to India, cut off the Eastern commerce of Great Britain, and, if possible, even drive the English from India. Malta was easily taken on the way, as the Knights of St. John were not numerous enough to withstand Napoleon's powerful force. Sailing eastwards the French fleet narrowly missed Nelson, who was in pursuit, and safely reached Alexandria, which was rapidly captured. Marching up the Nile valley, Napoleon defeated the Mamelukes¹ at the battle of the Pyramids, and occupied Cairo without much difficulty. He was employed in organizing a government when news came of the total destruction of his fleet by Nelson at Aboukir Bay. "We are compelled to do something great" was his comment on this disaster, and he immediately prepared to invade Syria as the best way of striking at Turkey, and a possible first step in an overland expedition to India. The Turks he defeated at Jaffa and Mount Tabor, but he totally failed to capture Acre, which was ably defended by Djezzar Pasha and the English admiral, Sir Sydney Smith. The importance of Acre had been shown over and over again at the time of the Crusades. Napoleon could not safely advance leaving in his rear a hostile fortress of such strength; so he abandoned his vast oriental projects for the time being and returned to Cairo, speaking of Acre as "that miserable hole which came between me and my destiny."

Egyptian Expedition,
1798-99.

Malta conquered.

Alexandria
captured.

Battle of the Pyra-
mids, followed by
occupation of Cairo.

Battle of Aboukir or
"the Nile", 1798.

Invasion of Syria
from Egypt, 1799.
Its failure.

Meanwhile affairs in France seemed ready for Napoleon's intervention, and as in Egypt there was little

¹ The military rulers of Egypt under the Turkish suzerainty. Cf. Chapter vii, p. 106.

more to be done which required his personal supervision, he set sail in the autumn of 1799 for home, leaving General Kléber¹ in command at Cairo. The Directory had meanwhile been growing weaker every day: its home policy was unsatisfactory during Napoleon's absence, and a second coalition of European powers had been achieving triumphs over the French arms in Italy and Switzerland. Napoleon arrived just at the right moment for himself and France. Attracting to himself all the discontented elements in the state, he carried out the Revolution of Brumaire,² replacing the feeble Directory by a stronger form of government called the Consulate, with himself as First Consul. Next, with the help of Carnot, the "organizer of victory", he prepared to strike a blow in Italy, by which he hoped both to end the war and to earn for himself again the title "Saviour of his Country". Rapidly and secretly pushing fifty thousand men across the Alps, he descended by the great St. Bernard upon the unsuspecting Austrians, and gained the glorious victory of Marengo, which reduced Austria to the limits imposed by the Treaty of Campo Formio three years before. In the last month of this year Moreau gained over the Austrians the great victory of Hohenlinden in Germany, a battle fought near the river Iser,³ on ground thick with snow. The Peace of Luneville, which followed these events, brought the second coalition to an end, and practically repeated the terms of Campo Formio,

Napoleon returns to France.

Revolution of Brumaire, Nov. 1799.

The Consulate. Napoleon in power.

Italian campaign and battle of Marengo, 1800.

Hohenlinden, Dec. 1800.

Peace of Luneville, 1801.

¹ One of the ablest generals of the Republic. He was shortly afterwards assassinated in Egypt.

² Brumaire, the month of fogs, roughly corresponds to November in the Revolutionary Calendar. This calendar was inaugurated in 1792. September 22nd in that year was the first day of the year 1.

³ Read Campbell's poem, "On Linden when the sun was low", &c.









so satisfactory to France. In 1802 peace was made with Great Britain also. She kept Ceylon and Trinidad, but restored her other conquests, including the Cape,¹ whilst Egypt, from which a British force under Sir Ralph Abercrombie had recently expelled the French, was given back to Turkey.

Peace of Amiens,
1802.

Napoleon now turned all his energies to the work of reconstruction in France. Every department of public affairs received his attention in turn; legal, judicial, and administrative reforms were carried out, and the educational system was remodelled and centralized under the power of the state. At the same time great public works—roads, canals, buildings, harbours—were begun, and a religious peace was brought about by means of a concordat² with the Pope. Finally, the law was amended, systematized, and drafted into codes, of which the Code Civile is the most famous. It forms to-day the basis of the civil law in most of the countries of Western Europe, and has taken a deep root in several countries or colonies outside Europe, such as Egypt. Refreshed by peace and these beneficial changes, France began to recover from the ravages of war; industries revived, general prosperity increased, and there was only needed a continuance of peace to make Napoleon's rule a real boon to his country.

Napoleon's
reconstructive
measures.

The Code
Napoleon.

Growth of prosperity
soon checked by a re-
newal of war, 1803.

But this was not to be. In 1803 war with England was renewed, and Napoleon began to organize an invasion of our island from Boulogne. The quickest way to subdue the old enemy of France would be to strike at

¹ Ceylon and the Cape had been taken from Holland, Trinidad from Spain. These countries, being forced or frightened into alliance with France, suffered a greater loss than France herself, as they had more colonies which the British fleets could easily snap up.

² This particular agreement is called "The Concordat", and is still in force. An agitation, however, has begun in France for the abolition of the Concordat, in order that the state may be freed from any connection with the church.

the heart of England and capture London. In 1804 Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in the following year all preparations for the invasion were completed. 120,000 men were posted on the French coast ready to embark, and 12,000 flat-bottomed boats were waiting at Boulogne to ferry them across. But Napoleon could never clear the Channel of British ships, and unless he had complete command of the narrow seas for twenty-four hours he dared not risk a crossing. Villeneuve, the French admiral-in-chief, received repeated orders during the summer of 1805 to unite all the French fleets and sail with them up the Channel to Bxlogne. But Nelson kept him actively employed, and at last Villeneuve took refuge in the harbour of Cadiz, only issuing thence in the month of October to be utterly defeated at the battle of Trafalgar.

Failing to get command of the Channel, he abandons it, 1805.

Owing to Villeneuve's failure the invasion of England had to be abandoned, and Napoleon, when he learnt that a third coalition was in the process of formation, marched rapidly on Austria, hoping that immediate action would nip the coalition in the bud. The Austrian general, Mack, rashly ventured into the heart of Bavaria before his Russian allies were ready, so that Napoleon, who excelled all generals in the speed and secrecy of his movements, surrounded him at Ulm, and compelled him to surrender with his artillery and stores.

Capitulation of Mack at Ulm.

Napoleon enters Vienna.

Battle of Austerlitz breaks up the Coalition (December).

Nothing now lay between Napoleon and Vienna, and after entering the capital, he marched out to meet a mixed army of Russians and Austrians in Moravia. At Austerlitz he won a brilliant victory, and many thousand Russians perished in a frozen lake. The effect of this victory was instantaneous. The

Czar Alexander I. signed a truce, and retired to Russia. Austria made the Treaty of Pressburg, by which she surrendered the Tyrol to Bavaria—^{Treaty of Pressburg.} Napoleon's ally—and Venetia with Istria and Dalmatia to Napoleon's newly-formed kingdom of Italy.¹ Finally, Prussia, which had been on the point of joining the coalition, refrained from taking any forward step, and allowed herself to be bought off by the offer of Hanover, which of course was technically not Napoleon's to give.

In Germany great changes followed the Treaty of Pressburg. Napoleon abolished many of the small principalities, both secular and ecclesiastical,² and enriched with these spoils the greater princes. He gave the title of king to the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and thus earned their lasting gratitude. Finally, he formed the Confederation of the Rhine under his protection. This was a federation of all the important and some inferior West German states. The princes of the confederation placed their troops and foreign policy at the disposal of Napoleon, retaining all rights of internal government, and being assisted by Napoleon to carry out all desirable reforms. Napoleon had now succeeded to more than the power of the mediæval empire, and Francis, wisely recognizing the facts, resigned his title as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. That institution ended its chequered history of a thousand years, having been founded by Charles the Great, and abolished at the instance of one who called himself the second Charlemagne.

In the same year Napoleon gained a more complete

¹ The Cisalpine Republic became the Kingdom of Italy in 1805, and Napoleon was crowned with the old Lombard iron crown at Milan. Eugene, his stepson, was proclaimed viceroy, and retained that position until 1814.

² He had already abolished some, as well as the majority of the free cities, by his mediatization scheme in 1801, the first act of his reorganization of Germany.

supremacy in Germany by conquering and humbling Prussia. Frederick William III, threatened by the new Rhine Confederation and unable to bear the repeated insults of Napoleon, decided to fight, trusting to his Russian allies,¹ and to that

1806. The war with Prussia.
Battles of Jena and Auerstadt (October).

army which Frederick the Great had made such a perfect instrument of war. But the Prussians now repeated Mack's error of the year before. Advancing jauntily to meet Napoleon, without waiting for the Russians, they suffered in one day the two defeats of Jena and Auerstadt, which showed that the Prussian army was no longer equal to its reputation, and that its leaders were incompetent.² A fortnight after Jena, Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph, and issued the famous Berlin decrees, which were intended to ruin British trade. They declared "the British Isles

The Berlin decrees aimed at Great Britain.

in a state of blockade", ordered the seizure of all British subjects, goods, and letters in any land held by French or allied troops, and excluded from the ports of France and her allies all ships coming from Great Britain and her colonies. The term "allies" here, of course, included conquered countries such as Prussia, and those which, like the Rhine Confederation, were under Napoleon's control.

In issuing these decrees Napoleon proclaimed to the world his real design—the humiliation of England. She had grown to greatness in the eighteenth century at the expense of France, and Napoleon, who inherited much of the foreign policy of the

His new scheme for ruining her.

¹ For Russia, like England, remained at war with Napoleon, Russia from 1805 until 1807, England uninterruptedly from 1803 until 1814. The war had only made a temporary truce after Austerlitz.

² Auerstadt at least showed that, for there a French detachment under Davoust defeated the vastly superior numbers of the main Prussian army. Napoleon himself won the battle of Jena, where, at the head of the main French army, he only encountered the Prussian left wing. The credit of this day's work (October 14th), therefore, rested rather with Napoleon's marshals than with the emperor himself, although in his bulletins Napoleon tried to disguise this unpalatable fact.

old Bourbon kings, determined to be revenged. His first plan of revenge had been the conquest of India, using Egypt as his base, and the foundation of a vast Oriental Empire. That had failed, and he then tried to invade England directly. This also had failed, and in 1805 he conceived the novel design of conquering England by the Continent. He would get all Europe under his control and turn it against England. "England is everywhere," he said, "and the struggle is between her and me. The whole of Europe will be our instruments, sometimes serving one, sometimes the other." By the successive conquests of Austria and Prussia in 1805 and 1806 Napoleon did much to secure that Europe should be an instrument serving him and not his foe, and the events of 1807 further enabled him to extend his schemes.

The campaign against Russia was carried on in Poland and East Prussia. The bloody and doubtful battle of Eylau was followed by the total defeat 1807. Campaign against Russia. of the Russians at Friedland, after which

the czar made peace, meeting his conqueror at Tilsit, a small island on the river Niemen. "I hate the English as much as you do," said Alexander. "In that case peace is made," replied Napoleon. Peace of Tilsit. The

two emperors agreed to control the Continent between them. Alexander was promised a great increase of territory at the expense of Turkey, and in return he abandoned Prussia, his late ally, to the tender mercies of Napoleon. Napoleon and Alexander the arbiters of Europe.

Prussia lost nearly all the land which she had gained by the three partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, and that territory became the new Grand-Duchy of Warsaw. She also lost many of her possessions west of the Elbe, some of which went to augment the Grand-Duchy of Berg, formed by Napoleon in the preceding year, and the rest was included Mutilation of Prussia.

with part of Hanover and certain other territories to form the new Kingdom of Westphalia, which Napoleon carved out of Western Germany for his brother Jerome.

Napoleon was now at the zenith of his power. He was a ruler of kings, head of a vast confederation of states, whose policy he directed, and whose resources he controlled. He was Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Rhine Confederation. One brother, Joseph, was King of Naples; another, Louis, King of Holland; and a third, Jerome, King of Westphalia. Murat, his brother-in-law, was Grand-Duke of Berg. The King of Saxony having become Napoleon's firm ally, the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw was placed under his protection. The King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria having been humbled to the dust, dared not disobey the orders of their conqueror. Finally, the Czar, being the staunch ally of Napoleon, was expected to act as his policeman in Germany. England and Sweden alone maintained the contest, the one because there could be no peace on equitable terms, the other because she was once more threatened by Russian greed of conquest.

The rest of Napoleon's history is concerned with—

(1) His attempts to obtain more direct and extensive control of Europe, and to make the continental system¹ more effectual.

(2) The consequent increase of hatred towards Napoleon, leading to the wars of liberation and his downfall.

His desire to obtain a greater control over continental states prompted a number of annexations, especially of those lands which lay along the various seaboard, they being the most important in the eyes of Napoleon.

¹ This is the name commonly given to that vast system of blockade inaugurated by the Berlin decrees.

Tuscany and the Papal States were thus annexed to the French Empire. Portugal was invaded and the throne declared vacant. The King of Spain was deposed, and the crown given to Napoleon's brother Joseph. The Duchy of Oldenburg, in Germany, was annexed to the French Empire, and the Illyrian provinces were confiscated from Austria. Napoleon thus held direct control over the seaports of more than half Europe, and indirect control of the rest, Sweden at last having joined the continental system (1810).¹ Nor was this all. The vigorous measures adopted by the British government in reply to Napoleon's continental blockade had brought about a quarrel and resulted in a war between England and the United States of America.² England thus was really facing a world in arms, and the struggle could not be continued for many years.

Further annexations,
1807-10.

But the power of Napoleon, though outwardly greater in 1810 than ever, was in reality less stable than in 1807, and there were already signs that his gigantic enterprises had passed their limit. For not only did England show no immediate intention of yielding, but there were other signs of unrest which gave Napoleon great anxiety and trouble. The Pope still fulminated against the violator of the Church's patrimony, and stirred up loyal Roman Catholics against Napoleon; the Spaniards had broken out into rebellion after the dethronement of their king (1808), and Joseph was unable to maintain his position

Napoleon's position
less strong in 1810
than in 1807.

This explained by
events of the in-
tervening years.

¹ Turkey was the only power with a coast-line which kept out of the continental system.

² The Orders in Council threatened with capture all neutral vessels trading with France, and the United States, irritated by these threats, went to war in 1812. The war was unpopular in the States and unsuccessful, so that after peace had been made in Europe (1814), and the grievances which caused the American war had been removed, no difficulty was found in making peace.

with security. British troops under Sir Arthur Wellesley—afterwards the Duke of Wellington—were sent to help the Spaniards and Portuguese, and what is known as the Peninsular War began. It was the first successful attempt made in Europe to resist Napoleon, and in his memoirs he spoke of it as an ulcer which ate into his side until it overwhelmed him. The Spanish rebellion, which began in 1808, encouraged Austria to make a bid for independence in the following year, and had she succeeded, Germany—at least Prussia—would have done the same. But the attempt was premature. Though the issue of the campaign at one time was doubtful, yet Napoleon, by the battle of Wagram, brought it to a successful termination, and still further crippled Austria by the terms he dictated at Vienna.¹

The Spanish trouble leads to Peninsular War, 1808-14.

The Austrian War in 1809.

Wagram.

Result of the complete humiliation of Austria.

The Russian alliance cools.

Austrian marriage, 1810.

The outcome of these events is notable. There is considerable evidence to show that Napoleon, the moment he had finally humbled Austria, resolved to place her in the position of allied friendship held since the Treaty of Tilsit by Russia. Austria would at least be an obedient friend. The Czar had given too much proof of independent views. Napoleon wanted at least one ally he could trust to keep the peace in Central Europe whilst he finished with the Spanish outbreak. Russia had been tried, and in 1809 had been found wanting; why not now offer Austria the right hand of fellowship? So Napoleon, in 1810 divorced his wife Josephine, who had borne him no son and heir, and married Marie Louise, an Austrian arch-duchess. This involved breaking off certain proposals which Napoleon had made

¹ Especially by the loss of the Illyrian provinces. Cf. page 241.

to the Czar for a marriage with a Russian princess. He had no hesitation in being rude to Alexander, either regarding a quarrel as inevitable, or else being blind to the consequences of his action.

Napoleon breaks with Alexander.

Meanwhile Spain continued to flout Napoleon's ablest marshals, whilst Wellington gained a firmer foothold every year. These facts should have made Napoleon extremely careful to avoid stirring up a conflagration in Eastern Europe.

Events leading to the Russian Expedition.

But he grew more rash with time. He withheld from Alexander any sufficient guarantee against the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland; he failed to carry out his promises with regard to the spoliation of Turkey; and he insisted on applying the continental system to Russia with increasing stringency. Then as a final cause of provocation came the annexation of Oldenburg, whose Grand-Duke was a relation of the Czar. But of these causes of irritation the continental system looms the largest. Alexander found that it crushed Russia's growing prosperity, and that the welfare of his country required unrestricted trade. Therefore he not only evaded Napoleon's fresh demands, but even disregarded the terms agreed upon at Tilsit. Napoleon determined to coerce him, hoping to humble Russia, as he had humbled Austria and Prussia. The alliance cemented at Tilsit had been too voluntary for his taste, for throughout his career he trusted more to alliances built up by fear than to those which were prompted by identity of interest. Thus it was that the great Russian Expedition came about, the failure of which was the first act in the tragedy of Napoleon's fall.

During 1811 great preparations were made for the invasion of Russia, and in the summer of 1812 the emperor started from Germany with half a million of men.

A Russo-Turkish war was then in progress; still, the
Napoleon invades Russia, 1812. Czar disposed of enough troops seriously to harass the French army on its march.

Constant skirmishes took place, and the country was so denuded of provisions that quantities of Napoleon's men and horses died of hunger and disease. The Russian armies retreated before the invader, wisely avoiding anything in the nature of a pitched battle. As Peter the Great a century before had lured on Charles XII to his defeat at Pultowa, so now Alexander hoped to engulf the grand army in the heart of Russia, where scarcity of food and the cold of winter would work far more destruction than any armed force. Owing to a change of generals, however, the Russians at Borodino risked a battle. After a long and bloody fight they were repulsed, though Napoleon, omitting to employ his guard, which was held in reserve, failed to convert the defeat into a rout. From Borodino he advanced to Moscow, which he found in flames. **He wins the battle of Borodino.** The

Enters Moscow, Sept. 1812. Russians had evacuated it, having burnt or removed all provisions. This was a great disappointment to the emperor, for he had expected by entering the ancient capital of Russia to conclude the war. He had hoped to dictate terms of peace at Moscow just as he had formerly done at Vienna and Berlin. But Napoleon underrated the determination of his foes, and his difficulties increased daily. For five weeks he remained in Moscow, hoping every day in vain that Alexander would submit. But when the month of October was well advanced, and the prospect of a Russian winter, with its intense cold, confronted him, he realized that an immediate retreat was necessary, and hoped without further loss to reach Germany, where he could prepare another expedition for the following year.

On October 19th the retreat began. The Turkish War had ended, and all the Russians were now able to take their share in harassing Napoleon. If his advance had been difficult, his retreat was made doubly so. Constantly molested by Cossack horsemen, who attacked and retreated swift as the wind, distressed by famine, disease, and cold, his once large army suffered as few armies have suffered before or since. The distance was great, and before half of it was traversed the winter was upon them, so that thousands perished every day. "At last (December 9th) the miserable remnant of twenty thousand stragglers tottered across the Niemen, over which five months before more than half a million of men had passed to gain for the emperor his final triumph. And yet so vast were his resources, so transcendent his genius, that after a disaster which completely eclipses all others in the history of civilized nations, he was still able to bring up half a million of soldiers and fiercely assert his domination from the Oder to the Ebro." Napoleon did not rest; though all thought of invading Russia was at an end, yet it was necessary to drive back the Russians into their own country and prevent them from turning a defensive into an offensive war. Should they but appear in Germany, it was to be feared that Prussia would rise against her master, and perhaps even Austria would make another bid for freedom. Consequently, Napoleon strained every nerve to bring together a new army for the campaign of 1813. But his fears were shortly realized. The Russian troops appeared in East Prussia, a Prussian army joined them, and it was not long before Frederick William formally declared war against Napoleon. Sweden, which had sided with Russia since 1812, now also became a member of the coalition, and

Retreat from
Moscow,
Oct.-Dec. 1812.

Russians follow
Napoleon into
Germany, and
Prussia joins
the Czar.

prepared to put an army in the field under her crown-prince, Bernadotte, an ex-marshal of France.¹

The campaign of 1813 may be divided into two parts, the first lasting from April till June, in which Napoleon warred victoriously against Russia and Prussia; and the second from August till November, in which Austria as well as Sweden being added to his enemies, the scale was so turned in favour of the allies that Napoleon was driven out of Germany. In the first

Campaign
of 1813.

Napoleon's
success
in the
first part.

part the opposing armies were almost equal, and Napoleon won the battles of Lützen and Bautzen, with the result that the allies were forced to treat for peace. This the conqueror granted, hoping thereby to gain time for bringing up more cavalry, and so to strengthen his position that he would be able to maintain successfully his threatened supremacy.

Negotiations
with Austria.

Had he at the same time taken the trouble to conciliate Austria and to satisfy her just demands, events might have turned out favourably to himself. But contempt for Austria prevented him from retaining her good-will by any concessions, however small. He ended a long and stormy interview with the great Austrian statesman Metternich by flying into a rage and shouting: "So you want war; well, you shall have it. I have annihilated the Prussian army at Lützen; I have beaten the Russians at Bautzen; now you wish your turn to come. Be it so; the rendezvous shall be in Vienna. Men are incorrigible. Experience is lost upon you." Austria did not long for war; all she

Austria joins
the Coalition.

Second part of
the campaign.

wanted was restitution of her lost territories, but failing compliance with this demand she had threatened to join the allies. Now that Napoleon would not yield to reason, she entered the coalition, which by this addition gained such a numerical

¹ The present king, Oscar II, is the grandson of Bernadotte.

superiority over the enemy that it was enabled in the second part of this year's campaign to free Germany and drive the French across the Rhine.

Though by the most brilliant marching, and by the great victory of Dresden, Napoleon for a time held his own, yet his generals with inferior armies sustained defeats in Saxony, Silesia, and Brandenburg, and the allies concentrated from all direc-

Battle of
Leipzig,
Oct. 1813.

tions upon Leipzig, where Napoleon prepared to stake his supremacy on one decisive battle. The battle of Leipzig lasted three days, and the French were eventually pushed back upon the river Elster, which was only spanned by one small bridge. Numbers were drowned, and many were cut off from all escape, while the remnant retreated towards the frontiers

Napoleon
driven out
of Germany.

of France. On November 1st Napoleon reached the Rhine with seventy thousand men, returning as at the end of the previous year with the loss of nearly half a million of men.

He had been driven out of Germany and had unwisely left behind many of his best troops in the garrisons of Prussia and Poland. He believed too firmly in his star; he would not understand that Germany was finally lost, and ever hoped for a recurrence of his hitherto unexampled luck.

Events consequent on
campaign of
1813.

Napoleon's expulsion from Germany ended his supremacy in that country, and his rule in North Italy did not long survive. Prussia regained most of her lost territory, and Austria the Illyrian provinces; the kingdom of Westphalia came to an end, and the Rhine Confederation was dissolved.

During the progress of these events the French armies were being gradually driven out of Spain. In 1812 Wellington defeated Marshal Marmont at Salamanca, and in 1813 he pushed the French up towards the

Pyrenees, gained a great victory over the incompetent Joseph at Vittoria, and drove him backwards into France.¹ Had Napoleon at an earlier date withdrawn his troops from Spain, where they had effected nothing, the additional two hundred thousand men might have made all the difference in Germany during the campaign of 1813, just as the garrisons he had abandoned beyond the Rhine would have been of priceless service during the ensuing campaign of 1814.

In 1814 the allies merely followed up and completed their previous successes. They were willing to go no further, and to save France the humiliation of an invasion. But Napoleon would not accept their offers; he would not even be content with the "natural boundaries" of France, and so the nation had to suffer for the intractability of its ruler. Napoleon seems to have thought that his dynasty would not survive any such acknowledgment of failure, and he could not believe that it was possible for him to be defeated in the end. In January, 1814, the allies in three armies crossed the Rhine, and marched in different directions on Paris. In his attempts to hurl them back Napoleon displayed almost more than his usual genius; in fact it would be no exaggeration to style this campaign his masterpiece. Hurrying by forced marches from one quarter of France to another, he constantly appeared where least expected, and won victory after victory. But his enemies were too many for him, and their determination was greater than he gave them credit for. Slowly they closed upon him, and gradually they

Progress of Wellington in the Peninsula.

Campaign of 1814

The allies offer Napoleon good terms, which are rejected.

Invasion of France by the allies, Jan.-March.

¹ The last battle of the Peninsular War was fought at Toulouse in the following year, actually a few days after peace had been signed at Paris. Wellington was also victorious in this battle.

approached the capital. A false move of Napoleon's brought about the end. In the month of March, thinking the Austrian army was about to retreat, he hurried eastwards to cut off their communications.

Heedless of this movement they went straight onwards to their goal, so that

Paris surrenders
and Napoleon
abdicates.

before Napoleon could retrieve his error Paris had surrendered to the allies. Further resistance was impracticable. Napoleon was urged by his marshals to abdicate, and having agreed to do so, he was given the island of Elba in complete sovereignty on con-

He retires
to Elba.

dition that he should remain there permanently. For a time the allies were undecided whether they should allow the Empress Louise to act as regent for her young son; the King of Rome.¹ This was most naturally Napoleon's wish, but Talleyrand's² great influence with the Czar resulted in bringing back the Bourbons, and Louis XVIII came to sit upon the throne of his fathers. He had, however, to grant a liberal constitution, and the ruling principles of the French Revolution remained in force, so that an absolute return to the old régime with all its wrongs was a thing impossible.

Bourbons
return.
Succession of
Louis XVIII.

Meanwhile Napoleon settled himself at Elba, guarded by British war-ships, whilst the representatives of the allied powers met in the Congress of Vienna to revise the map of Europe,

The Congress of
Vienna, 1814-15.

¹ Generally known as the Duke of Reichstadt. He was Napoleon's only son, and after the downfall of his father he was kept in close tutelage by his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria. He died in 1832, aged twenty-one.

² Talleyrand de Périgord, Prince of Benevento (born 1754), was one of the greatest Frenchmen of the time. Beginning his public career as a bishop of the Church in France, he took an important part in the revolutionary settlement, emigrated to America, where he employed himself in commercial speculation, and finally returned to devote himself to politics. For many years he was Napoleon's foreign minister, and was the most clear-sighted of the emperor's advisers. Falling out of favour, he intrigued against Napoleon, and espoused the cause of the Bourbons. But he soon found himself in opposition to the reactionary Charles X. Being friendly to Louis Philippe, he became French ambassador in London from 1830 until 1837. Died 1838.

which the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had so much disfigured. But this revision was little to the advantage of Europe, for the work of the Congress was a triumph of the old monarchical ideas over the principles of the Revolution.

Its reactionary policy. It favours autocracy and shows no respect for nationality.

"Its proceedings were characterized by a disregard of popular rights, of differences of race and religion, and of historical tradition,

worthy of Napoleon in his most absolute days." "All dreams of national unity for Germany and Italy were at an end. In Germany Prussia regained most of her lost territory, and was also granted half of Saxony. But

Settlement of the Congress: (a) in Germany.

she was not strong enough to be the leader of Germany, and a loose confederation of thirty-eight states was formed under the presidency of Austria, almost complete independence being given to the individual states.

In Italy there was a reversion to the *status quo ante* Napoleon. Austria obtained Venice and Lombardy, and

(b) Italy.

Victor Emmanuel recovered his kingdom, Genoa alone being added. The Papal States were revived, and Murat, as a reward for his desertion of Napoleon in 1814, was allowed for a time to retain his kingdom of Naples. Most of the remaining princes in Italy were either Hapsburgs, or subject to Hapsburg influence.

Besides regaining her supremacy in Italy, Austria acquired territory from Bavaria and from Prussia. But the greater part of Poland—i.e. of the Grand-

(c) Austria, Russia, Poland.

Duchy of Warsaw—went to Russia, and in return Alexander promised the Poles a liberal constitution.

Switzerland regained its independence, but the excellent constitution drawn up by Napoleon was replaced by a looser federal bond, which was shortly found to be unsatisfactory.

(d) Switzerland.

Holland and Belgium were united in one kingdom under the House of Orange; but within a few years this forced union proved a great failure, and the Belgian revolution of 1830 brought ^{(c) Netherlands.} about the formation of a separate Belgian kingdom.

Denmark, for having sided with Napoleon, lost Norway, and that country, much ^{(f) Denmark and Scandinavia.} against its will, was bound over to Sweden as the reward for Bernadotte's assistance to the allies.

Such artificial unions as the ones last mentioned showed the members of the Congress to be deficient in that true statesmanship which reads aright the signs of the times. The French Revolution had unsettled Europe. Its work, followed ^{Congress of Vienna blind to the signs of the times.} by the Napoleonic policy in Italy and Germany, had laid the framework of a new Europe, the dominant note of which was to be the spirit of nationality and patriotism. The German rising against Napoleon had still further accentuated the coming change; hence it was unwise to revert to eighteenth-century ideas. The Congress of Vienna, however, cemented as it was by the holy alliance of the three autocratic despots of Europe, pledged itself to a reactionary policy, which was doomed to failure. For the spark of life was with the new principle; the vitality of the old was merely artificial, being based on force. The history of the nineteenth century is the record of the triumph of nationality,—in Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany. It also records the triumph of liberal ideas in government; ideas which, coming ultimately from England, have gradually and through much bloodshed become embodied in the constitutions of most European countries.

While the Congress of Vienna was blindly opposing the new forces that were at work, Napoleon was meditating an escape from Elba. The quarrels of the allies gave

him new hope: their failure to keep the conditions of his abdication gave him an excuse. So after a ten months' sojourn he contrived to elude the British war-ships, and landed at Cannes on the 1st of March.

Napoleon's escape from Elba, Feb. 1815.

The Bourbons had already dissatisfied many parties, and Napoleon somewhat illogically felt that he would be welcomed by all those Frenchmen who loved the honour of their country. Nor

The hundred days.

did the reality fall far below the expectation. Paris and the majority of the towns received him with enthusiasm; the soldiers flocked to his standard, and Louis, finding himself deserted, fled to Belgium.

Flight of Louis.

The allies no sooner heard of these events than they stopped their quarrelling at Vienna, declared Napoleon to be the enemy of Europe, and prepared to meet him in the field. As long as he was free there could be no peace; the monster must be captured and chained down more securely than before.

Napoleon realized from the first that it would be necessary to fight, and that it was better to take any risk than to resign all thought of greatness for ever. And there seemed, indeed, some chance of success, for since the peace of 1814

Allies prepare to make war on Napoleon.

190,000 men had returned to France from the garrisons of Germany and Poland, and Napoleon now had at his disposal a finer army than any he had commanded since he lost his grand army in the wilds of Russia.

He resolves to strike the first blow.

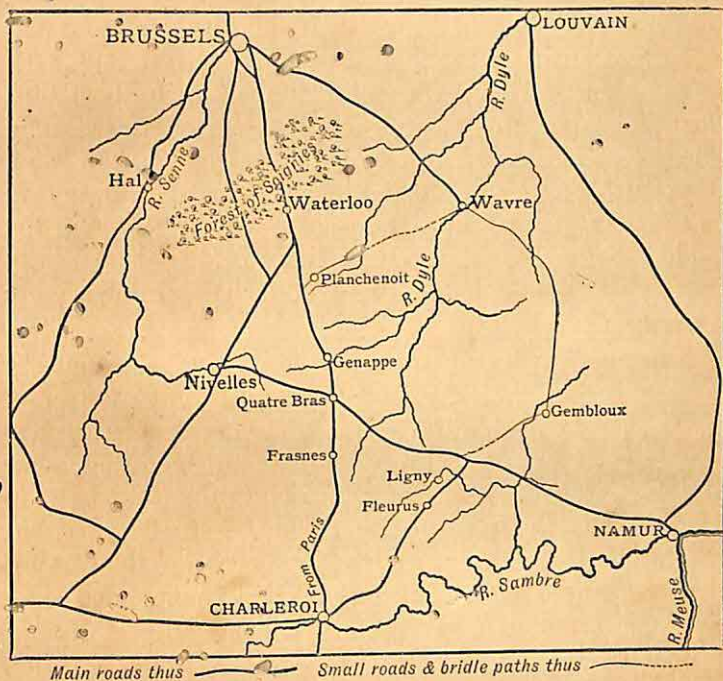
During the month of April Wellington assembled in Belgium a mixed army of British, Dutch, Belgians, and Hanoverians, and the Prussians under Blücher prepared to take up their position in line with Wellington in East Belgium. As he saw that the

¹ A hundred days elapsed between Napoleon's proclamation as emperor at Paris and his second abdication; hence the name commonly given to this period of his life.

Russian and Austrian armies would take longer to arrive, and that everything depended upon the speed of his first move, Napoleon resolved to strike at once. Should he defeat Wellington and Blücher, possibly they would beg for peace: at least he would gain time, and time was everything. The allied armies were distributed over a front of one hundred miles, a necessary

The campaign
of Waterloo,
May-June, 1815.

Position of
allied armies.



weakness required by their ignorance of Napoleon's objective. In outline the emperor's plan was the same as that adopted in his first Italian campaign, viz. to strike first one enemy, then the other, and thus, before it was possible to unite, to drive them

Napoleon's
plan.

back on divergent lines of retreat, the Prussians towards the Rhine, and Wellington's mixed army towards the sea.

Pursuing this plan, on June 16th he attacked the Prussians at Ligny with his main army, at the same time sending Ney with a small force to push back Wellington's advance-guard at Quatre Bras. The Prussians were defeated at Ligny after severe fighting.

Napoleon beats Prussians at Ligny and Wellington beats Ney at Quatre Bras, June 16th.

but Napoleon, not wishing to weary his troops, failed to complete his success by an adequate pursuit. Meanwhile Ney had not succeeded in dislodging Wellington from Quatre Bras, for the duke had brought up fresh troops from Brussels, and when night fell he remained in possession of the ground. Still, had Napoleon adhered carefully to his plan, all might have been well. The effectual pursuit of the Prussians would have prevented their lending Wellington any further assistance, without which he could have won no Waterloo, but would have been pushed back towards Antwerp and the sea. As it was, Napoleon only sent off Marshal Grouchy in pursuit of Blücher on the day after Ligny, nor had he even troubled to despatch cavalry scouts to find out the Prussian line of march. Consequently he failed to prevent concerted action between the allies, for whilst Wellington retired on Waterloo, Blücher by a parallel line fell back on Wavre, and not on Liège, as Napoleon surmised. The Prussians reached Wavre unmolested, and were ready on the morning of the 18th to come to Wellington's aid at Waterloo.

Grouchy sent in pursuit of Prussians too late, so allies able to co-operate.

Movements on June 17th.

Meanwhile Napoleon on the 17th marched towards Waterloo, and prepared to fight Wellington on the following day. But when day broke the ground was so sodden with rain that

Battle of Waterloo, June 18th.

Napoleon postponed the attack until mid-day, knowing that on a drier field his splendid cavalry would be more effective. The battle itself we must dismiss in a few words. Napoleon had a larger and more trustworthy army, and he was especially strong in guns and cavalry. But Wellington had an excellent position for defence. Could he hold that position until the Prussians should come to his aid all might be well, but the Dutch-Belgian troops were so unreliable that there was much doubt about the possibility of so doing. Napoleon, confident

Position and strength of the opposing armies.

of victory, set himself to dislodge and drive back Wellington by every means in his power, but, as events proved, he had much belittled the prowess of his foe.

Napoleon attacks, but Wellington resists until Prussians arrive, when the French are driven from the field.

Wellington formed his men in squares, and the French charged furiously, but could not pierce them. Three great attacks Napoleon made with cavalry and infantry, but even forty squadrons of horsemen, supported by the most furious cannonading, failed miserably to dislodge the foe. At last the Prussians appeared upon the field, and Napoleon made a final bid for victory by sending forward the old guard of picked veterans, his last reserve. But it was all in vain. The crushing fire of the English made them stagger, and a flank movement having thrown them into disorder, the allied line advanced and rolled them down the slope. Before this general advance the French line melted away, and Napoleon's once proud army was nothing more than a mob of fugitives, mercilessly pursued by Prussian cavalry. Wellington having given his men a night's rest joined the pursuit on the following day, and the allies advanced to Paris.

Collapse of Napoleon's power.

There was now no hope for Napoleon; he had no other army large enough to resist the united forces of Well-

ton and Blücher: he had staked all on the one great fight and lost it. A second time he

Second abdication.

signed an abdication, and soon afterwards attempted an escape to America. But British cruisers

Capture and exile of Napoleon.

were on the watch, and Napoleon was intercepted. He was taken on board the *Bellerophon* and held a prisoner until the allies should decide upon his fate. Almost immediately the British government proposed St. Helena as a safe and healthy place of exile, and this proposition was agreed to by the powers. So to St. Helena Napoleon went, protesting his desire to reside in England as a simple British citizen, and claiming the hospitality of that crown against which he had fought so long in vain.

The decision to exile the fallen emperor was doubtless right and necessary. As long as he remained in Europe

Necessity of exiling him.

there would be fresh attempts at rescue, and there could be no feeling of security

until he had been finally removed from the scene of his ambitions. At St. Helena he lived in semi-state for six

His life at St. Helena.

years, awaiting an opportunity which never came, intriguing for a rescue, and quarrelling ceaselessly with the English governor. He lived a simple life, gardening, shooting, reading, and dictating.

But he yielded more and more to lethargy and perversity, until he had abandoned all exercise, and at last fell a prey to that disease—cancer of the stomach—which had

His death, 1821.

killed his father. He died in 1821, and was buried in the island, but in the reign of Louis Philippe his body was removed and interred with great ceremony in the Invalides at Paris.

The St. Helena period is interesting chiefly for the

Napoleon's memoirs.

memoirs Napoleon dictated there. They reveal much of the real man, his thoughts about himself and others, together with some valuable criti-

cisms on his schemes and wars. Let us briefly glance at some of his most noteworthy statements. Constantly regretting the loss of Egypt, he speaks of the vast Oriental Empire he might have founded. "With the Mamelukes as allies, I should have become master of the East. Arabia awaits a man." But it was India especially that he aimed at.

His opinions on the most important episodes in his career.

"France, once mistress of Egypt, would be mistress of India; who holds Egypt holds India."

He should rather have said, "He who holds India must hold Egypt"; nevertheless he did appreciate the intimate connection of these two countries in the problem of empire. His dreams about an Eastern Empire should not make us forgetful of the fact that, in the period between 1799 and 1805 he had made serious endeavours to found a Western Empire by pacifying San Domingo, buying Louisiana from Spain, and obtaining the Floridas from the same power in return for some concessions.¹ Similarly he equipped an Australian expedition, with a view to colonization, saying that he was "tired of this old Europe", and that France wanted new worlds to people and to rule. The execution of these plans had been, however, frustrated by European entanglements, and Napoleon had returned with fresh intensity to his dreams of an Oriental Empire. The subject loomed so large in his mind that much of his conversation and memoirs dictated at St. Helena touch upon it. The Spanish rising is another subject touched upon. He

¹ But these negotiations came to nothing, and in 1819 Spain sold Florida to the United States. Napoleon bargained for Louisiana from Spain in 1801 in return for some concessions elsewhere, but he sold it to the United States in 1804. The French had possessed San Domingo or Hayti for more than a century, but one of the results of the French Revolution was the abolition of slavery in the island, and consequent civil strife between the whites and blacks. Napoleon hoped to pacify the island by cancelling the abolition, but his efforts were unavailing. British fleets also came frequently to embarrass the French, and in 1804 evacuation was decided on. The island has since that time been independent, but turbulent.

says, "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me". He takes upon himself the whole blame of the Russian expedition, and above all regrets the long sojourn in Moscow. Borodino he regards as his most brilliant battle. He fails to understand how he ever lost Waterloo, but yet admits that the result may have been partly due to the character of the enemy. "It is above all by their good discipline that the English triumphed." This opinion he bears out in another place by saying, "If I had had an English army I should have conquered the world". It may well be answered that Napoleon was too impatient and masterful to have held down the world, even had he conquered it; for it was above all owing to his faults of temper that he lost his European conquests.

In conclusion, let us briefly enquire what were the net results of Napoleon's unique career in Europe, and more particularly in France.

The first feeling of contemporaries was one of supreme relief that those wars which had devastated Europe for over twenty years had at last ended. But

(a) In France. in spite of much fruitless expenditure of men and treasure Napoleon's contribution to progress was considerable. For it must be remembered that he was as pre-eminent in statesmanship as in war. It is true that he raised France to a pinnacle of glory only to dash her to the ground, and reduce her to limits less extensive than those she enjoyed when he came to power. But some atonement for this must be found in his work of political reconstruction so sorely needed by the France of 1799. He restored order out of chaos, and he laid the foundations of a new France, which the Revolution with its lack of discipline had merely outlined. Perfect wisdom is of course not claimed for all his reforms. His educational system, for instance, is open to serious criticism. But the public works initiated by him were

beneficial, and above all his codes supplied a much-felt need, and were in complete harmony with the spirit of French history and institutions. His religious settlement too gave satisfaction to most parties in the state.

His influence on Europe may be regarded as of a dual kind, direct and indirect.

His direct influence was confined to parts of Germany and Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and to a less extent the Iberian Peninsula. In these countries he introduced social order, good laws, and profitable public works.

(b) In Europe.
Influence on
Europe both
direct and in-
direct.

Switzerland received a constitution better than any she has had before or since. The Code Napoleon became the basis of all law in most of the countries enumerated. Civil equality and religious toleration, precious birthrights of the Revolution, were in-

(1) His direct
influence.

troduced by him in Western Germany and Italy.¹ Finally, his kingdom of Italy and the Rhine Confederation cannot have failed to awaken in Germans and Italians alike a wider idea of national unity. Napoleon sowed the seed which yielded fruit after sixty years. During his own time, however, the beneficial effect of these measures was barely felt. The blasting imperialism of his later years and the dead weight of the continental system throttled the growing prosperity of Italy and Germany.

Secondly, his indirect influence. By his conquests and oppression he stimulated opposition in such countries as Prussia and Austria to such an extent that these nations gained an entirely new vitality. His conquest of Prussia gave the impulse to those reforms of Stein and Scharnhorst, which re-

(2) His indirect
influence.

¹ Unfortunately many of these benefits which Napoleonic rule conferred on Germany were cancelled in the reaction which followed the downfall of his empire, when the old unintelligent governments returned. But still a certain proportion of the Napoleonic system remained, and even the Code persisted in certain parts of Germany after 1815.

generated the country. His despotism stimulated the nations to resistance in that great "Anti-Napoleonic Revolution, which, by arming the peoples against tyranny, laid the foundation of European liberty". The War of Liberation did even more than Napoleon's organization of Italy and Western Germany to popularize that idea of nationality which has been the great principle of development ever since, and which has reached its climax in the refounding of the German Empire and the unification of Italy.

Thus the work of Napoleon was of a dual kind—what was done by him, and what was done owing to him. His career was not an uninterrupted success, and the crash when it came was colossal, but yet he accomplished a great work, and there is no doubt that the man himself was superlatively great.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COLONIZATION OF EUROPEAN POWERS, MORE ESPECIALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN

i. Brief History of Colonization, especially British, up to 1815

It is impossible to record the history of the European nations without taking account of the colonies planted by them in other parts of the world, for this expansion has formed a large part of their life, and has very considerably determined their political relations with each other. A colony proper implies the settlement in a more or less unpopulous country of certain persons who have voluntarily abandoned their own land, and who either may or may not

Meaning of the term "colony".

remain dependent upon their mother-country in matters of government and defence. Conformably to this definition, a thickly-populated country like India, which has been conquered by another, could not be called a colony, and is usually described as a dependency. But most colonies also are in some sense or other dependent, so that it will be convenient to treat under one heading all those countries beyond the seas which have been either peacefully settled in, or conquered from their original inhabitants, by Europeans.

In ancient times—the Greeks, the Phœnicians—especially the Carthaginians, greatest of Phœnician peoples—and the Romans, planted colonies of various kinds and for different purposes.

Colonizing nations of modern times.

In modern times the great colonizing nations have been the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the British. We shall limit ourselves to an investigation of the nature of these modern colonies, and endeavour to find what verdict history has to pronounce about the excellence and durability of the several different colonial systems. The author of a useful work entitled *Historical Geography of the British Colonies* makes some most valuable remarks upon the motives which alike in ancient and modern times have led to discovery, to conquest, and to settlement.

Motives leading to colonization.

They are, he says, "love of enterprise, desire of wealth, social or political discontent, and religion". Very often two or more of these motives exist in conjunction, as when love of adventure is blended with a desire for gain, or when commerce and proselytizing zeal go hand in hand. Again, a combination of religious and political discontent has often led to the formation of colonies, as in the case of the New Englanders, who planted their settlements in America nearly three hundred years ago.

The success of a colony depends much upon the qualities displayed by the colonizing race, and to some extent upon the geographical conditions of the colony. There are some six characteristics which, besides physical endurance, should be present—some or all of them—in the race which is to colonize successfully. The author of the work above quoted would have these characteristics to be enterprise, aptitude for trading, readiness to emigrate, capacity for fighting, power of assimilation, and capacity for ruling. The great colonizing nations of ancient and modern history have each been noted for some amongst these qualities, and the larger the group of colonizing aptitudes possessed by any people, the greater has been the success of that people in the work of colonization.

The earliest of the colonizing nations in modern times were the Spaniards and Portuguese, for the Venetians and Genoese, though great commercial people, were hardly colonizers in any real sense. Spain had hardly become united under Ferdinand and Isabella when she began to dream of foreign conquests. Columbus set out on his first voyage of discovery in 1492, and within the amazingly short space of sixty years after the discovery of the New World Spain had founded a vast colonial empire, comprising most of the West Indian islands, and the greater part of South and Central America. The Spaniards did not colonize thinly populated and uncultivated lands, but conquered rich and powerful nations, such as the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru. Their conquests were actuated alike by a love of adventure and of war, a greed of gold, and a crusading impulse; but when once the work of conquest was complete, the least worthy motive began to predominate,

Qualities which
make for success
in colonization.

Spanish
colonization.

Its date
and extent.

and the Spanish colonies came to be regarded as rich estates to be worked for the benefit of the mother-country. A fair amount of method in administration, and a considerable humanity towards slaves was marred by the introduction of that religious intolerance and political despotism which was wrecking Spain at home. Moreover, a vicious commercial exclusiveness was practised. Not only were foreigners excluded, but the system of commercial monopoly was carried so far that even certain classes of Spaniards were debarred from trading with the Spanish colonies. In government and trade alike the Spaniards met with failure, so that Spain and her possessions beyond the seas suffered the same fate of premature decay, and at last the American colonies separated themselves from the mother-country, and with few exceptions became independent republics. Since their separation these countries have not attained a great prosperity, for their resources had been crippled by three hundred years of selfish rule, and white men form but a small proportion of the population. In the East, Spain possessed several island groups, but the most considerable of these, the Philippines, were lost to her, simultaneously with Cuba, in the recent Spanish-American War, and at the present time Spain, of all her vast colonial empire, retains no colony of any size or note.¹

Its good and bad points.

Decay and loss of Spanish colonies.

The Portuguese were really the first of the modern nations to enter the field of discovery, although their colonial empire was not completely founded until after that of Spain. Prince Henry the Navigator early in the fifteenth century led the way in

Portuguese colonization.

¹ Her only possessions to-day lie in or near Africa. They are the Canary Islands, certain small districts in Morocco, Fernando Po—an island in the Gulf of Guinea—and some territory contiguous to it on the mainland.

the path of discovery, and he was followed by such well-known names as Diaz, who reached the Cape of Good Hope; Vasco da Gama, who sailed round the Cape to India; and Albuquerque, the master-builder of Portugal's vast Eastern empire. The colonial dominions

Wide extent
of Portuguese
dominions.

of Portugal embraced a multitude of islands, such as the Cape Verde, the Azores, Madeira, Mauritius, and Ceylon;¹ the greater portion of the west, and much of the east coast of Africa; Aden, most of the coast-line of India, the greater part of the Eastern Archipelago, Brazil, and a host of smaller islands and territories too numerous to mention. In Brazil at least the Portuguese showed marked colonizing ability, but their colonial empire has shared the fate of that of Spain, and the remnants of it are hardly more imposing. Brazil

Gradual loss
of colonial
possessions.

became independent in the beginning of the nineteenth century, partly as a result of the shock dealt by Napoleon's domination of the Iberian Peninsula, and the other² colonial possessions of Portugal have fallen into the hands of her more fortunate successors in colonization. Their trading ability, their enterprise and willingness to emigrate, had enabled the Portuguese to found a wide colonial empire, but their lack of governing capacity prevented them from keeping

Criticism of
their colonizing
ability.

it. They evinced the same tendency as the Spaniards to cruelty, as well as to religious and political intolerance, and they showed a decided inability to progress. Further, as Seeley points out in his *Expansion of England*, the Portuguese Empire was built upon too small a base; the

¹ Portugal still retains the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, and Madeira. Mauritius and Ceylon, like Aden and many other Portuguese possessions, have passed into the hands of Great Britain, after having remained awhile under Dutch and (in the case of Mauritius) also French rule.

² But Portugal still retains large tracts in the east and west of Africa, some small districts in India (e.g. Goa), the island of Timoor in the Eastern Archipelago, Macao off the coast of China, and the three island groups mentioned in the preceding note.

home-country was bound to become so overweighted by its vast dependencies that it could not fail eventually to lose them in some way or another.

Dutch colonization succeeds that of these two Latin races, and fills up the seventeenth century. The Dutch were a strong, sturdy, independent race, who had freed themselves from religious and political oppression by one of the most stubbornly contested wars in all history, and they soon began to show the vigour of their new-born nationality by their colonial and maritime activity. As the Portuguese had taken all that was best in the East, and the Spaniards had monopolized the most valuable possessions in the West, the Dutch colonists found themselves regarded as interlopers wherever they went. Consequently, though desirous above all of being allowed to trade in peace, they were frequently constrained to employ force in the building up of their commercial greatness. They planted colonies at New Amsterdam—afterwards known as New York,—the Cape, the Persian Gulf, Burmah, and Cochin China. Their eighty years' struggle with Spain gave them the opportunity for founding colonies far and wide, and as Philip II conquered Portugal in 1580, many Portuguese as well as many Spanish possessions were legitimately appropriated by the Dutch. From Portugal they took Ceylon, St. Helena, Mauritius, and part of the Indian coast-line. The greatest islands of the Eastern Archipelago fell into their hands, and they effectually succeeded the Portuguese in this quarter of the globe, Java even to this day remaining as a proof of Dutch colonizing activity three hundred years ago.¹ But the small area

Dutch
colonization.

Eminently
commercial.

They seized
the possessions
of Portugal
in the East.

¹ The Dutch also made great efforts to conquer Brazil, and actually occupied two of the Brazilian provinces for a considerable period. Soon afterwards they gained possession of Guiana from its native population. Several of the West Indian islands also fell into their hands. Curaçao they took from Spain.

and population of the home-country produced the same result as in the case of Portugal, and the decline of

Decline of Dutch colonial power and its causes.

Holland from the position of a first-rate power both in Europe and beyond the seas was further accelerated by a succession of wars with her two great neighbours, France and England. She had aspired to a higher place than her size and resources entitled her to, and having reached it by a burst of energy failed to keep it long. Lack of progress and an unsound commercial system were noticeable amongst the other causes of decline. From the Treaty of Utrecht Holland ceased to be a first-rate power, though her maritime strength still made her counsels of considerable weight. Her place was taken by England and France, whose century-long rivalry at length resulted in the commercial, colonial, and maritime supremacy of the island powers.

This struggle of the two great western nations must be examined more in detail, but it is first necessary to

The growth of France.

go back a little and note the early phases of their expansion. The ascendancy of France in the seventeenth century was a European ascendancy founded upon the reconstructive work of Henri Quatre;¹ but the foundations of a large colonial empire were laid also, although the French were at present far behind the Dutch in colonial and maritime activity. It was Henri Quatre who first encouraged industries and commerce, and it was under his auspices that the colonization of Canada was begun by Champlain in 1608. In Richelieu's busy life there was little enough time for such matters; but Colbert, who in 1661 undertook the whole internal administration of France, made commerce and

Beginnings of French colonization.

¹ Henry of Navarre.

colonial expansion his chief concern. He argued that every industry created would increase the taxable capacity of the country, that every colony planted beyond the seas would be the source of untold wealth, and that France would thus be enabled more easily to maintain her boasted ascendancy in Europe. For a time, however, it would be necessary to abstain as far as possible from European complications; France would require to devote all her energies to the work of extending and consolidating her colonial empire, in order to place it upon so impregnable a basis that no rival could destroy it. But Louis XIV was not prepared to wait for these distant though certain advantages; he was dazzled by the prospect of gaining immediate glory through European conquests, and he relegated the work of colonization to the rank of secondary considerations. What Louis chose was certainly the traditional, and perhaps, therefore, the natural policy of French statesmen; but this did not make it the wisest course, and we can now appreciate the mistake by which France allowed herself to be entangled in a series of continental wars, whilst her British rival was but slightly hampered by European politics. It was not as if French statesmen were willing to relinquish their colonial ambitions, for both Louis XIV himself and his successors did devote considerable attention to colonies and to commerce. In brief, it was the attempt to do two things at once that ruined France, and that France did persistently pursue a double object, a slight knowledge of eighteenth-century history would suffice to prove.

Importance of Henry IV and Colbert in history of French colonization.

The European ambitions of France prevent full attention being given to colonial development.

We have said that during the seventeenth century England was rapidly becoming a colonial and maritime

state.¹ Curiously enough, she has not always been distinguished as a sea-power, although her insular position would seem to have pointed naturally to such a destiny. During the Middle Ages she possessed no regular navy of any size, and her great wars were land wars. Indeed, it was not until the age of Elizabeth that she began to embark at all seriously on maritime enterprises, and that age will ever remain famous for the exploits of the great sea-captains, among whom Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, and Raleigh were the most renowned. The defeat of the Spanish Armada may be taken as the event which, more than any other, marked the rise of England's sea-power. It was shortly followed by the foundation of the first English colony,

Growth of England's sea-power.
First English colonies planted in North America.

Virginia in 1607, to be followed by that of New England in 1620. The former was a purely commercial settlement, but the New England settlers were Puritans who had emigrated to escape religious persecution, and who built up their colony more by private effort than by state support.² English colonies, however, were not limited to the American coast-line. Certain of the

Progress in East and West during the seventeenth century.

West Indian islands were occupied during this century, some stations were planted on the west coast of Africa, and the East Indian Company, which was formed in 1601, laid the foundation of our now vast Indian Empire. The Commonwealth was a period of great naval and military glory, for not only did the English navy under Blake contend successfully

¹ The first period in English colonization embraces all efforts made in this direction, mainly by peaceful expansion, up to the English Revolution.

The second period embraces from 1688-1815, possessions being at this time mostly gained by conquest.

The third period brings us from 1815 to the present day, and during its elapse colonies were acquired both by war and by peaceful settlement.

² New England was the name given to that portion of territory which comprised the four colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

against the Dutch, but Cromwell helped to complete the decline of the formidable Spanish power by assisting France against her ancient foe, and by annexing the valuable Spanish colony of Jamaica. In Charles II's reign further progress was made. Bombay and New Amsterdam — now New York — were acquired from Portugal and Holland respectively, and the colonies of New England advanced along the path of prosperity and well-being. When Holland towards the close of the century ceased to be a rival power, she was able to become the ally of England, and the union of the two maritime nations under William of Orange dealt a mighty blow at the undue power of France. From this time forward the English kings were prevented by the growing power of Parliament from pursuing a dynastic as opposed to a national policy, and the national interests were more and more realized to be commercial and colonial. It is at this point that there began between France and England that long struggle for supremacy which has so aptly been called the Second Hundred Years' War, and which fills up what we may call the second period of English colonization.

When rivalry with Holland ends that with France begins.

Between 1688 and 1815 seven great wars were waged in which England and France took part on opposite sides, and although the policy of European aggrandizement inaugurated by Louis XIV was apparently responsible for most of them, yet in the background there was ever present a relentless duel between England and France for colonial empire and maritime power.¹

The great colonial duel between France and Great Britain, 1688-1815.

The first war was brought about by England's acces-

¹ For commerce also. Colonies and commerce were almost synonymous terms in the days of the old colonial system. Colonies were then regarded as state preserves, and a rigid protective system was universally practised.

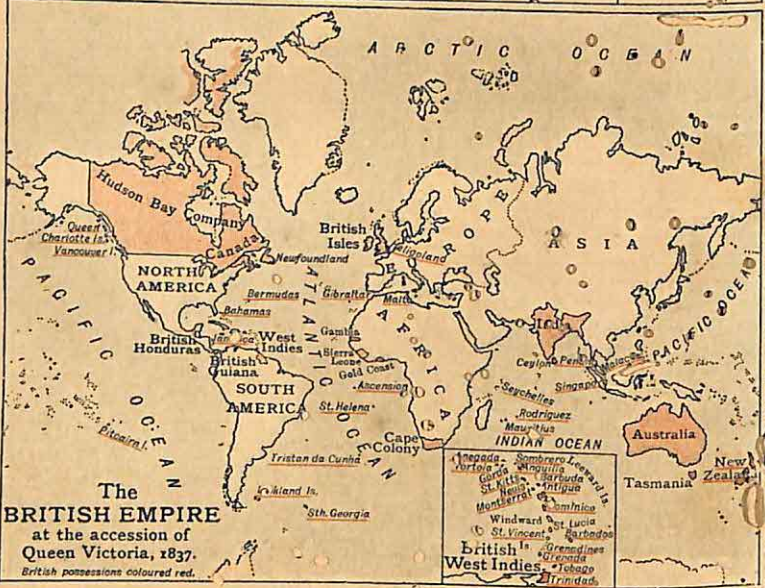
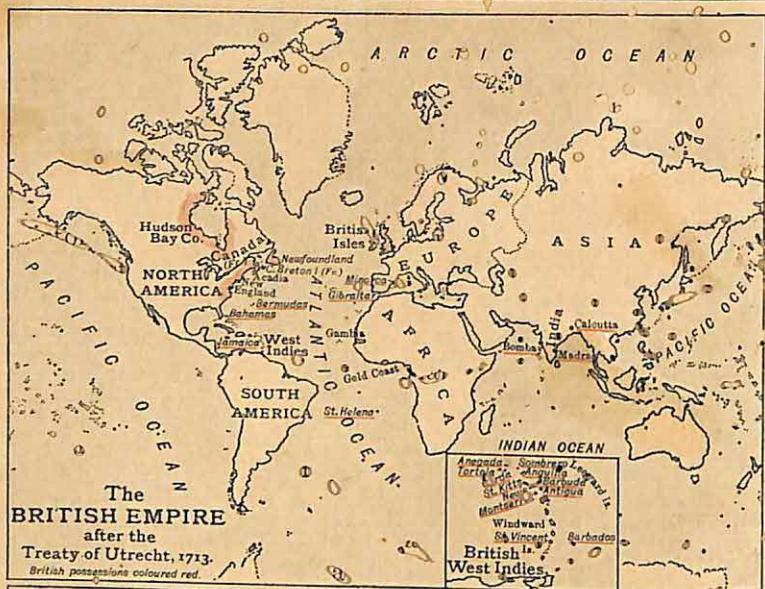
sion to the League of Augsburg, for after the English Revolution Louis supported the exiled Stuarts, and William was thus able to use the strength of England in helping to curb the would-be conqueror of Europe. This war is of importance in the history of sea-power, since by the great naval victory of La Hogue in 1692 France practically ceased to exist as a great naval power, and England entered a claim to the command of the seas which was finally made good at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805.

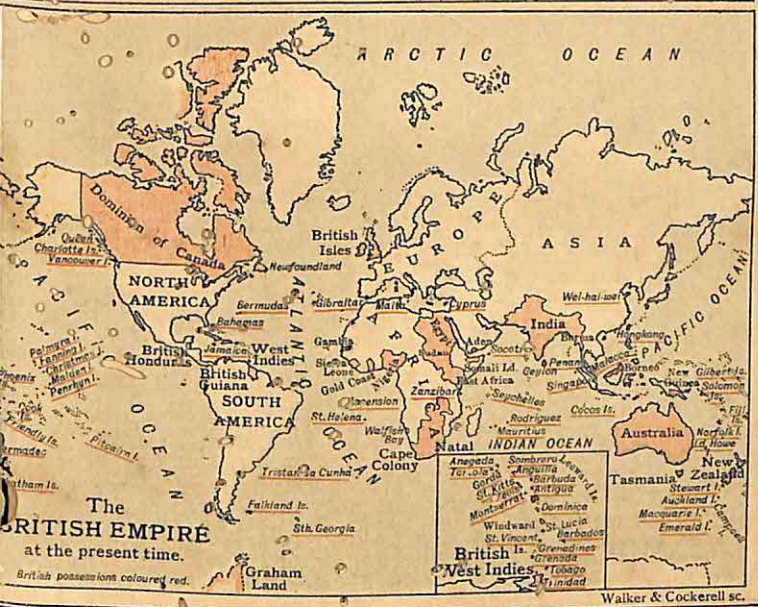
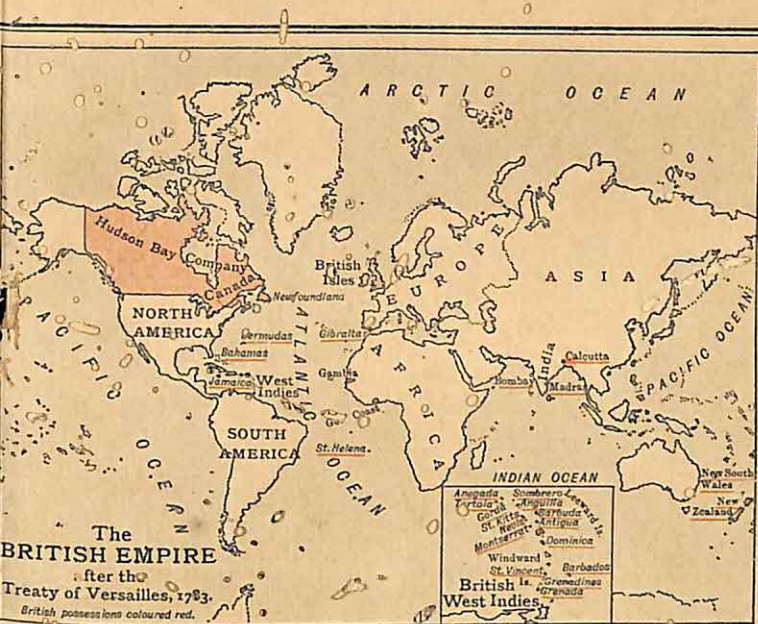
The second war in this series was that of the Spanish succession, which lasted from 1702 until 1714.¹ From an English or Dutch stand-point the real explanation of this great effort to prevent Louis' grandson from becoming king of Spain is that it was imperative to prevent France, far too powerful as she already was, from obtaining a share in the commercial monopoly and colonial dominions of Spain. The succession of Philip of Anjou to the throne of Spain made quite possible an essential union of the French and Spanish crowns, and that "would close almost the whole New World to the English and Dutch and ruin the prospects of their trade". Thus the war was at bottom a commercial war, and it gave proof to the saying of Adam Smith some fifty years later, that commerce in modern times "has become the most fertile source of discord and animosity". The Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the war, not only secured to England the fortress of Gibraltar, which had been taken from Spain in 1704, but also dealt a great blow at the colonial power of France by taking from her Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay Territory.² It is to be remembered that

Aggrandizement
of England by the
Treaty of Utrecht,
1713.

¹ But as far as France and England were concerned, only until 1713.

² Cf. Chapter ix, p. 169.





the strength of England was considerably augmented at this time by the union with Scotland, by which the northern kingdom became a full partner in that work of empire-building for which her sons have shown such an extraordinary aptitude. Henceforth to be correct we should employ the word British rather than English in all matters concerning the empire.¹

The third war lasted from 1739² until 1748, and though merged in the European struggles of the Austrian Succession it was in reality a continuation of the colonial war. Great Britain was successful by sea and France by land, but by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle both combatants resigned their conquests and returned to the *status quo*.

The third war,
1739-48.

The fourth war, which took place between the dates 1756 and 1763, is called the Seven Years' War. Although peace existed in Europe between 1748 and 1756, yet fighting continued almost un-

The fourth war,
1756-63.

interruptedly between the two nations in America and India. In India a great statesman named Dupleix conceived the plan of founding a vast French empire in the East and altogether driving the English from the peninsula. He cleverly took advantage of the decay of the great Mogul Empire to meddle with the quarrels of the native rulers, and to secure for France a gradually in-

(a) The struggle
in India.

creasing influence. He, too, first showed how natives could be drilled by Europeans into capable soldiers. But he was poorly supported by his government, while the British command of the sea inclined the balance against any project of the kind which required naval support and a free right

Dupleix and
Clive.

¹ But by common usage the term England has come to mean the United Kingdom and Ireland, an error which, perhaps, is justified for the sake of brevity. We shall for convenience often employ "England" in this sense.

² Technically we were only at war with Spain from 1739, and France entered the combat two years later.

of way across the sea. Finally, the brilliant achievements of a young Englishman, Robert Clive, secured the superiority of the British influence in India. He rapidly diminished the French power in the Deccan, and by a single stroke at Plassey practically won the rich province of Bengal in 1757. Two years later the victory of Wandewash finally dissipated all dreams of a French empire in India, and since that time only Napoleon Buonaparte has had the courage to revive that project, nor did he by his labours and intrigues achieve the least success in this direction.

Failure of the
French.

Whilst a British empire was being built up in the East, America was being conquered in the West. Although the English colonies in that continent were more populous and more progressive than the French ones, yet the French, who were firmly planted in Canada and Louisiana, sought to unite these two colonies by occupying the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and they boldly claimed sovereignty over all the country to the west of the Alleghanies. Two unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy Fort Duquesne, which the French had built to command the Ohio valley. However, as soon as the Seven Years' War broke out, more determined efforts, aided by larger forces, succeeded in capturing those French forts which barred the British advance to the west, and this first success was followed by the greater triumphs of General Wolfe. That young hero sailed in 1757 up the St. Lawrence, scaled the almost inaccessible cliffs below Quebec, and gained a great victory over the French under Montcalm outside the city. Wolfe himself was killed, and when told that the French were running, "Then," said he, "I die happy". Montreal was captured in the following year, and Canada was transferred to Great

(b) The struggle
in America.

Montcalm
and Wolfe.

The French
driven out
of Canada.

Britain by the Peace of Paris in 1763. The culmination of our country's power appeared to have been reached, and Englishmen were dazed by such an unexpected burst of glory. The whole of North America seemed destined to be theirs, and Chatham,¹ the brilliant statesman who had contributed so much to the stirring victories of these few years, was idolized as few statesmen have been before or since.

The second part of the duel now begins. France recognizes her defeat; she seeks to regain her losses and to be revenged. This period lasted from 1763 to 1814, and during these fifty years three big wars or series of wars took place:

Second part of the Anglo-French duel, 1763-1815.

- (1) That of American Independence.
- (2) The French Revolutionary wars.
- (3) The Napoleonic wars.²

In the first of these France, Spain, and Holland took advantage of England's preoccupation in America to attack her, and France enjoyed a sweet vengeance in helping forward the separation of the American colonies from

Final result of the struggle. Great Britain remains supreme.

Great Britain. In the second and third France sought to overthrow the "tyrant of the seas", and to found a new French colonial empire in India and America, perhaps even in Australia.³ But again the greatest land-power found herself no match for the greatest sea-power, and even Napoleon, the conqueror of Europe,

¹ William Pitt the elder. He was only created Earl of Chatham in 1766, but it is convenient always to call him by the name by which he is best known to history.

² The French Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars run into each other, but a distinction is often made for the sake of convenience. 1802 would be the dividing line.

³ These were more especially the purposes of Napoleon, and though hidden sometimes, retarded at others by European preoccupations, they were none the less real and fundamental. Cf. Chapter xii.

was unable to reach the heart of his most persistent foe. Not only did he fail to invade England owing to the insufficiency of his sea-power, but he was helpless to prevent the richest colonies of France and her allies from being absorbed in the already gigantic proportions of the British Empire.¹ Nelson's triumph at Trafalgar set a seal to the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, and her commercial pre-eminence had grown *pari passu* with her sea-power and her colonies. The long duel had ended in the acknowledgment of England instead of France as the greatest power in Europe. This result

Explanation of this result. had been attained mainly by a concentration of British effort in one direction, while France had been persistently scattering her energies. The geographical position of the British isles had enabled them to hold aloof from continental entanglements to a large extent, while French policy ran even more naturally in a European than a colonial channel. The result was that colonial development came to be regarded in France as of secondary importance, and the French colonial empire decreased in proportion as that of her rival increased.

ii. The American War of Independence

No survey of our colonial expansion would be complete without some special examination of the conditions, causes, and results of the American War of Independence. After some enquiry into its history, we shall be more perfectly equipped to carry on and conclude our sketch of colonial development, for the influence exercised by this great event on the subsequent colonial system of Great Britain has been incalculable.

The North American colonies were thirteen in number

¹ Cf. Chapter xii, *passim*.

at the time to which we are about to direct our attention.¹ Founded at different times from the reign of James I onwards, they were inhabited by a people of various character and different interests. The Quakers of Pennsylvania differed as much from the slave-owning gentry of Virginia as the rigid Puritans of Massachusetts differed from the Anglo-Dutch merchants of New York. Each had its separate government, consisting generally of a native legislature and a governor appointed by the Crown. The separate individuality of the colonies was intensified by a constant condition of quarrel and jealousy, so that for a long time fear of the French had been the only bond amongst them. United in this one point, however, they had loyally assisted Chatham in his efforts to drive the French from Canada, and now that this had been successfully accomplished in the Seven Years' War, they felt less disposed than formerly to lean on England. Under these circumstances two causes of vexation sufficed to separate them from the mother-country: (1) the vigorous application of the Navigation Laws, and (2) the attempt of the British government to tax the colonies against their will by the authority of Parliament.

The North American colonies in the eighteenth century.

Their history until 1776 that of separate communities.

What led to their separation from the mother-country.

Parliament had always claimed uncontested the power of binding the colonies by a uniform commercial system, and of legislating for them on matters of general interest, such as the post-office and the currency. Though the English colonies were in point of self-government and com-

Rights of Parliament over the colonies.

¹ They were—Virginia, Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, North Carolina, New York, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Georgia.

mercial regulations more favourably situated than the colonies of any other power, yet the commercial system did afford them undoubted grievances.

Grievances in connection with the Trade Laws.

Colonists were obliged to sell their staple products in British dominions only, to import goods by way of England, and to refrain from the establishment of any industries which might compete with those of the mother-country. Thus, for instance, they were forbidden in the interest of English hatters to export their hats, or even to send them from one colony to another, and serious obstacles were thrown in the way of those who sought to establish a manufacture of hats for purely home consumption. Similar restrictions were applied in the case of woollen goods, and several other manufactured articles. This, of course, was a part of the mercantile system of the age, which regarded all colonies as estates to be managed for the advantage of the home-country, and which secured this advantage mostly by exacting a monopoly of their trade.

After a period of disuse these laws are vigorously applied in 1765.

In effect the severity of the Trade Laws was in ordinary times much mitigated, and it was precisely the fact that they had not been fully enforced for a long period which rendered their vigorous application in the early years of George III so obnoxious to the settlers.

The second and more real cause of the American revolt was the decision of the British government to tax the

Parliament attempts to raise revenue from the colonies.

colonies for the purposes of revenue. England had emerged from her victorious war in 1763 saddled with a heavy debt, and it was reasonably thought that the American colonies might contribute some share towards the cost of imperial defence in America. But now that the fear of France had diminished, the colonists vigorously opposed all idea of a standing army, and were naturally not pre-

pared to pay for a thing which they did not desire. Moreover, even if they had wished to provide a contribution, no central machinery existed for such a purpose, and the proposal would have led to long and laborious negotiation with each individual colony. Under these circumstances Grenville, the Whig premier, in 1765, convinced of the necessity of an army for America, afraid to impose fresh taxes on Great Britain, and despairing of any spontaneous contribution from the colonies, fell back upon what many legal experts declared to be an undoubted privilege of Parliament, viz. the right of taxing the colonies by its own authority. An act called the Stamp Act was passed with but little difficulty, by which certain legal transactions were to be stamped with a government stamp and taxed accordingly. But this infringement of the principle by which taxation and representation are inseparably connected roused the greatest indignation in the colonies. It mattered little to them that the revenue to be gained was very inconsiderable, or that it was all to be used in defraying the expenses of colonial defence. Riots broke out, the stamps were seized and destroyed on their arrival from England, and the governors represented to the Crown the impossibility of enforcing the Act. At home Chatham, sympathizing with the colonies, poured out all the bitterness of his invective upon the Act, and the ministry of Grenville having been meanwhile replaced by that of Rockingham, the Stamp Act was repealed. But the value of this repeal was made extremely questionable by a strongly-worded declaration affirming the absolute right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and explaining the repeal on grounds of expediency alone. This effort

The Stamp Act
passed by Gren-
ville, 1765.

Meets with such
opposition in
America that it is
repealed by
Rockingham the
same year.

But unwise
declaration of
right passed
at same time.

to preserve the dignity of Parliament was of evil omen, for in 1767 Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer in the Grafton cabinet, holding that the right

A second attempt at raising revenue in the colonies made, 1767.

of taxing the colonies had never been abandoned, induced his colleagues and the king to make another attempt at

raising revenue in the colonies. He proposed duties on tea, glass, lead, paper, and painters' colours, urging that the Americans could not have the same ground of objection to port dues as they had to internal taxation. But this measure awoke as violent an opposition in the

Results in a deadlock.

colonies as the Stamp Act of 1765. Petitions poured in upon the king, and when they were left unanswered, embargoes were placed upon British goods, so that the new duties hardly yielded more than a few pounds per annum. Massachusetts took the lead in the policy of opposition, and at Boston there began

Reign of terror in America.

a reign of terror which resulted in a conflict between the people and the troops.

From this time matters went from bad to worse. The North cabinet, which replaced that of Lord Grafton, by a policy of compromise remitted all other duties but that on tea, and pledged itself to raise

North withdraws all except the tea duty, 1770.

no further revenue from America. But the concession came too late, nor would anything short of a total withdrawal have availed.

Insubordination was spreading, and several serious outrages on revenue officers occurred. They

But too late.

in 1773 came the famous episode of the tea in Boston harbour. The British government, seeking to make the Act a reality, tried to force taxable tea on the Americans, but a band of dis-

Destruction of tea in Boston harbour, 1773.

guised rioters boarded the ships upon arrival, and hurled the cargo into the sea.

To punish Massachusetts for this outrage the government

adopted coercive measures. The harbour of Boston was ordered to be closed, and the constitution of the colony cancelled. The other twelve colonies at once passed votes of sympathy, and in the autumn of 1774 they sent delegates to a general congress at Philadelphia.

Coercive measures applied to Massachusetts, 1774.

This was the most important event which had yet happened, for it united the colonies into a single group capable of backing its demands by the force of arms. The Congress, while disclaiming any idea of independence, urged the immediate redress of all grievances. As always in such cases the feeling of union and strength increased the urgency of the demands, while a considerable confidence was felt in the English Whigs. But

This leads to Colonial Congress at Philadelphia.

the British government now saw no alternative but war, and a skirmish at Lexington in April, 1775, began the conflict. Two months later the first real battle was fought at Bunker's Hill, where a

War begins, 1775.

valiant though unsuccessful stand made by a small army of untrained troops against the British regulars went far to dispel contempt of volunteers, and to put spirit into the Americans.

Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.

George Washington, a Virginian gentleman of some military experience, was chosen commander-in-chief, and the war soon became general.

George Washington.

From the outset the difficulties which the colonists had to contend with were enormous. Trained army there was none, and the funds were insufficient to feed, clothe, and pay the troops that were encouraged to enlist. Moreover, the larger portion of the population in all but the four New England states were half-hearted, while a very considerable number were profoundly loyalist. Consequently a condition of quarrel and dissension was so normal in the

Dissensions and difficulties of the colonials.

earlier stages of the war, that had the English possessed

Great Britain should have been able to bring the war to a speedy termination.

a general of any capacity, most probably he could have wiped out all rebellion before a year had passed. But

no man of enterprise existed among the generals of the king, and the Americans had time to organize their government and army on a more solid basis. The violent and energetic minority carried matters further and further, until at last the redress of grievances was forgotten in a desire for independence. Thus the course taken by the Dutch revolt against Philip II of Spain was repeated in America.

The Declaration of Independence was passed by Congress on July 4th, 1776, and it was hoped that this step would secure the co-operation of France against her old enemy and rival. But

Declaration of Independence, 1776.

meanwhile British reinforcements were being poured into America, and a temporary change of fortune took place. Washington was beaten at

Battle of Brooklyn and further successes of the British, 1776.

Brooklyn (August) by General Howe, who retook New York and overran New Jersey. In the closing months of 1776 only a poor army of 5000 ragged men was left between the colonials and submission, so that it seemed as if the rebellion had

1777. Americans become more hopeful.

been crushed. The British troops, however, were insufficient to overrun the whole country, and far too few to hold it down. A new American army was formed, and with the year 1777 the prospects of successful resistance became more bright.

Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, Oct. 1777.

In October of that year General Burgoyne, marching from Canada to attack the colonies in the rear, had to surrender to superior forces at Saratoga, and this encouraged France to strike in with the object of humiliating her ancient foe. She had for some time given secret help to the colonies, but

now declared open war against England, and in the next year Spain, hoping to regain Gibraltar and Minorca, followed her example. Finally, Holland in 1780 joined the coalition on the pretext of commercial grievances, and the war soon spread all over the globe, naval operations now becoming an even more important feature than the fighting on the American continent.

France (1778),
Spain (1779), and
Holland (1780) de-
clare war against
Great Britain.

Two years previously—in February, 1778—Lord North had introduced and passed through Parliament a measure of conciliation which gave to the colonies all they had asked before the war. But it was too late, they re-

North's measure of
conciliation in 1778
had been ineffectual.

quired independence now; they distrusted the North ministry, and a treaty of alliance with France had already been signed. The position of England in 1780 was exceedingly critical for besides being at war with three European powers, who had superior fleets, she was faced by a league of Baltic powers, called the Armed Neutrality of the

The armed
neutrality of
the North, 1780.

North. Catherine II of Russia was its head, and it was formed as a protest against England's claim to search neutral vessels for contraband of war. It aimed at humbling the pride of the "tyrant of the seas", and though it did not actually lead to war, it emphasized most pointedly the political isolation of Great Britain.

The gloom was, however, somewhat relieved by the successful operations of British troops in the southern states. The American army was once again so reduced, and the finances so low, that Cornwallis, one of the few able soldiers of the Crown, was able to reconquer Georgia and the Carolinas, and to beat the Americans in two pitched battles. In the following year he began the

Victories of Corn-
wallis in southern
states, 1780-81.

¹ Not individually, but in the aggregate.

conquest of Virginia, and, having won another battle, withdrew to Yorktown on the peninsula of that name in order to co-operate with an expected British fleet. But a French fleet arrived instead, and Washington meanwhile had cut off all retreat on the land side, so that Cornwallis, after failing to force his way through the American lines,

had no other course but to surrender with all his men. The capitulation of Yorktown practically ended the war as far as

America was concerned. All the recent British successes were undone, and no more attacks of any strength were made upon America, as the supply of troops had fallen to the lowest possible ebb. The disaster of Yorktown

coincided with disasters all over the world. Other British disasters.

Minorca as well as most of the British West Indies were captured by the French, and in India a French force was co-operating with Hyder Ali of Mysore to extinguish British power in Madras. It was only the brilliant naval victory of Rodney off Dominica in 1782, and the relief of Gibraltar in the same year, that

saved British arms from absolute humiliation. The siege of Gibraltar, which had

lasted more than three and a half years, was the most thrilling episode in the whole war. France and Spain devoted all their energies to its capture; they bombarded it by land and sea, reinforcing their fleets by

ten specially-constructed battering-ships of iron, each of which carried 212 guns. But the attack was frustrated by a ceaseless rain of red-hot grape fired from the fortress, and the enemies had almost abandoned hope before the arrival of the relieving squadron in October, 1782. These successes

brought peace nearer, for they showed what a power of resistance was yet contained in the British Empire. At the same time the

He is forced to capitulate at Yorktown, Oct. 1781.

1782 a more successful year except in America.

Battle of Dominica and relief of Gibraltar.

The great siege of Gibraltar, 1779-82.

members of the attacking coalition were all fast approaching bankruptcy.

Peace was made in 1763. The Rockingham cabinet, which succeeded that of North, conceded independence to the Americans, and the other powers a few months later came to terms at Versailles. Peace of Versailles, 1763.

As the war had on the whole gone against England, the terms of the treaty were necessarily inglorious, but it must be remembered that most of the places

ceded by her were not possessions of any long standing. Minorca and Florida were ceded to Spain; France received St. Lucia and Tobago among the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa, as well as the Indian factories she had seized during the war. Its provisions. But Dominica, and a number of small islands in the West Indies lately

conquered by the French, were restored to England. France had partially revenged herself for previous humiliations, but in reality she suffered far more by this war than her rival did. She was brought perceptibly nearer to that bankruptcy which furnished an occasion for revolution six years later, and co-operation with republicans had inoculated her people with republicanism and revolutionary sentiment. England, on the other hand, was not so reduced in power but that in the ensuing war she was able to regain the proud position she had held in 1763. It calls a halt in the growth of the British Empire.

The importance of the War of American Independence is very great in several ways. It illustrates the intimate connection between European and colonial politics, the interdependence of Importance of the American War. the old world and the new. It emphasizes the bitter and persistent rivalry between England and France; and it shows how England temporarily lost her mastery of the seas, though by her successes at the

end of the war the first step towards its recovery had been taken. Finally, it seemed to herald the disruption of the British Empire, and it necessitated a complete change in our colonial system, for it showed that colonies of the American type would not allow themselves to be treated as estates of the mother-country and subjected to her will, but that every colony which was in character an extension of Great Britain must enjoy the British rights of freedom. This lesson has been fortunately learnt, and has borne fruit in our modern colonial system,¹ which concedes almost complete self-government to real colonies.

It necessitates a revision of our colonial system.

iii. Recent Colonial Development

The third period of English colonization is that which has lasted from 1815 to the present day. It combines the features of the two earlier periods, viz. expansion both by settlement and conquest. In India and Africa our possessions have been extended in this period mainly by conquest, in Canada² and Australasia they are rather the result of settlement. Besides these main groups, there are a host of islands, forts, and territories which have been acquired in all quarters of the globe, by voluntary surrender, by purchase, or by conquest. Such are Ascension, Singapore, Aden, Hong-Kong, Malta, Cyprus, and others too numerous to mention.³ Some of these are used as coaling stations, others are valuable as trading ports, others again as strategic posts, while a

Third period of English colonization.

of a dual nature.

¹ This is what Seeley calls the "new" as opposed to the "old" colonial system.

² It must be remembered that only the nucleus of what we now call Canada was obtained by conquest from the French in 1763.

³ For a complete list students may be referred to Luca's handbook, mentioned above. See also our remarks in Chapter xii on the Treaty of Amiens and the Congress of Vienna.

few fulfil all three of these conditions. It will be noticed that the conquests of the nineteenth century have not been, as a rule, taken from European rivals as in the eighteenth century. For there was no longer any real rival to England in the field of colonies and commerce, and it has only been of recent years that her monopoly in these

Character of
our 19th century
conquest.

directions has been traversed. The conquests, therefore, of the last century were made generally in wars against petty native rulers or worn-out empires: as often as not they were brought about by a policy of commercial obstruction. Trade and the flag have enjoyed an intimate association: commerce has at times been the precursor, at other times the follower of empire. Sometimes Great Britain has conquered new territories, and so opened new markets to her commerce; sometimes she has conquered a country peacefully by commerce, and so paved the way for its absorption in the empire.

The area of the British Empire is now more than eleven millions of square miles, and its population about 450 millions.¹ The amazing increase during the nineteenth century may be conveniently noticed in connection with the four main groups: India, Canada, Australasia, and Africa.

Area and popula-
tion of British
Empire to-day.

India has been conquered piece by piece, often by the necessity of self-defence rather than from inclination, until it has spread east and west over the neighbouring states of Burmah and Beluchistan. It is a dependency pure and simple, not a settlement for white men, but a conquered country held by force of arms. Notwithstanding its autocratic system of government, India is ruled in the in- (a) India. terests of the natives rather than of Great Britain. But

Growth during the
19th century in

¹ Rather more than a quarter of the estimated population of the globe.

each can be of service to the other, and therefore our Indian Empire fills a useful and important place in the world's economy.

Canada has stretched herself out to the west by the multiplication of settlements between Quebec—the nucleus of Canada—and the Pacific Ocean.

(b) Canada.

The various provinces have formed a federation known as the Dominion of Canada, in which almost complete self-government exists under a governor appointed by the Crown. Newfoundland alone of our North American colonies remains outside the Federation.

Australasia includes Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, together with a multitude of small islands, such as the Fijis, and a portion of the vast island of New Guinea.

(c) Australasia.

Australia, first discovered by the Portuguese, afterwards visited by the Dutch, had been colonized by us as a compensation for the loss of the United States, but was at first merely utilized, as a convict station. One by one the several colonies in Australia sprang up, and they have at last been united in a confederation similar in many points to that of Canada (1901). Tasmania, first occupied as a penal colony in 1803, has now joined the federation of Australian states. New Zealand, once a convict station and a dependency of the New South Wales government, became a separate colony in 1840. A hardy race of natives, called Maoris, exists in New Zealand, but since their defeat in a stubbornly-fought war forty years ago, they have remained intensely loyal to Great Britain, and share in the self-government which the colony enjoys.¹

The fourth great group of nineteenth-century conquests is contained in Africa. Let us take South Africa first. Like Canada and Australia, South Africa is a colony

¹ The natives in Australia are rapidly dying out, and have never been proportionately so numerous as those of New Zealand, since our occupation of the country.

proper and not a dependency, and like Canada, Cape Colony, the nucleus of British South Africa, was gained by conquest.¹ But the Dutch colo-
 (d) Africa.
 nists, who preceded us there, have been more difficult to work with than the French in Canada, while the enormous native population furnishes problems of government which both Canada and Australia have happily been without. In spite of such difficulties, the extension of British rule in this quarter of the globe has been remarkable, and the greater portion of South Africa to Lake Tanganyika in Central Africa is now painted red. The work of expansion was completed by the annexation of the South African Republics after the late Boer War. But not merely in the south of the African continent have there been large accessions of territory in the nineteenth century. Much land has also been acquired in the east, west, and north, but in these quarters other powers—notably France and Germany—have eagerly participated in the scramble for Africa which began some twenty years ago, and have snatched large stretches of territory in the “Dark Continent”. German East Africa unfortunately separates the British possessions in the south and east from each other, but our power extends from our East African possessions due north to the Mediterranean through the Soudan and Egypt. In the west our only colonies at the beginning of the third period of British colonization were Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast; but during late years vast tracts in Nigeria have been acquired, and the native states in the Niger basin have been divided into spheres of influence between England and France.

The scramble
for Africa
since 1880.

Such, briefly, are the more important colonies which

¹ From the Dutch in the French Revolutionary wars. It was returned for a time to them, but has been permanently ours since 1814.

together make up Greater Britain. British colonization has been successful, while that of her predecessors failed chiefly because in the English, or rather British people, a greater number of the necessary characteristics have been united than in any other nation. Though deficient in that easy adaptability so conspicuous in the French colonists of the best sort, the British have displayed the other requisite qualities in a marked degree:—(1) Being a mixed breed, they have shown a greater vitality and enterprise than these races whose origin is less diverse. The fact that Great Britain is an island has also multiplied the energy of her sons, for history has shown that maritime states throb with the intensest life. (2) The British have displayed a greater readiness to emigrate than other races, "and they have had the strength of character to carry their homes and associations with them across the seas". (3) Like other maritime states in ancient and modern times, they have evinced a marked aptitude for trade; but they have traded less selfishly than the Portuguese and more honestly than the Dutch. (4) They possess a great capacity for fighting. From Blenheim to Waterloo the superiority of the British infantry was well maintained,¹ and is not yet surpassed, while the race as a whole has the fighting instinct without which it would have been impossible to subdue so large a portion of the earth's surface. (5) Finally, to atone for the lack of that assimilating power which is so conspicuous in the Latin races, the British have possessed the Teutonic faculty of government to an extraordinary extent. They are in modern times the nation which most nearly resembles the Latins of old, just as the French have been somewhat truly compared to the ancient Greeks.

¹ The Prussian infantry, when led by Frederick the Great, can alone compare with the British in the eighteenth century, and even they possessed less dash.

This governing power has two sides—ability to govern subject races with strength, method, and justice, and on the other hand capacity to develop for the use of its sons at home and in the colonies representative institutions of a proved efficiency, which render self-government practical and safe. The majority of colonies proper have now received constitutions of this kind, and the authority of the home government has been in such cases reduced to a minimum. But unity of interest and of race is a tighter bond than any governmental one. This unity finds its fullest expression in a sentiment of loyalty to the British Crown, and with the colonies the king's wishes will go further than the authority of Parliament.¹ The aim of every imperialist statesman is to attach the colonies to the home-country by every tie of affection and interest, and, if possible, to devise some system of government in which the whole empire may have a share. Perhaps the federation movement in Canada and Australia may turn out to have been the prologue of a greater and imperial federation. Such consolidation would add greatly to the strength of the empire for defence, and to present a formidable front is the best method of avoiding war in these days of armed peace. The interests of the British Empire are opposed to war, for, having conquered many territories, she requires a long period of peace wherein to pursue her peculiar mission of spreading law and order, and developing industries within her boundaries. The key-note of the empire is progress, and although she must not shrink from an appeal to the sword when honour or real interest is at stake, yet

Great development
of the governing
power in the
British race.

Modern
Imperialism.

Outlook for
the future.

¹ Of course, technically, this sentiment involves a fiction, inasmuch as by our constitution the king can have no wishes in matters of government which are not those of his ministers and Parliament.

frequent war is incompatible with the highest progress. If these considerations remain fixed in the minds of our statesmen, it is reasonable to suppose that great developments await us. Perhaps the British Empire has not yet reached the zenith of its greatness. Perhaps its future may be even more glorious than its past.

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